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GREEK HISTORY

Translated from the German of
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GREEK HISTORY

BY PROF. HEINRICH SWOBODA

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

PROFESSOR SWOBODA has won so high a rank among students of classical antiquity that it would be superfluous, and indeed presumptuous, for his translator to recall that distinguished scholar's excellent works to the memory of the learned reader; and the little History now presented in English dress, though addressed to a less academic audience, is fully equal to the author's reputation. It has the rare merits of succinctness and lucidity, however imperfectly these excellences may be conveyed in translation; and in addition it brings the history of Greece down to the present day. To most readers the story of ancient Greece is a fairy tale from olden times, at best half romance, and severed by an impassable chasm from the reality of the modern age. This conception is thoroughly false; the history of the Greeks, like that of the Jews, to which it has manifold points of likeness, has passed without a break from the classical into the imperial, the medieval, and the modern eras, and bids fair to become no mean chapter in the story of the nations that has yet to be unfolded.

With regard to transliteration of classical names, continued reflection has strengthened me in the conviction that the proper course for me in a work of this kind is to follow the example of a few English scholars whose good taste is equal to their learning, and transliterate the Greek words letter for letter. The ordinary method which gives instead the Latinised forms is guilty, in the strict sense of the word, of barbarism; English is as much akin in spirit to the flexions and vocalism of Greek as to those of Latin, so that it is absurd

to dress up a Greek name in a semi-Latin garb before presenting it to English readers for fear of shocking their linguistic susceptibilities. To this general rule, however, a slight exception should be made in the case of a few, a very few, names that have become really English in their Latinised form, such as *Philip* or *Alexander;* but even here the line must be drawn with exceeding strictness, so as not to include Latinised names coming to us from the French, and on the way battered out of recognition, such as *Dennis*, which is ultimately *Dionysius*.

The names of a few towns will also meet the eye of the unprofessional student in a somewhat unfamiliar guise. Instead of *Troezen, Sicyon, Phlius*, he will find here the genuine classical forms, which I have written on my own responsibility—*Trozen* (the native dialect properly demands *Trozan*), *Sekyon, Phleius*. Those who prefer the former spellings may talk of established rule, elegance, and the like; but if there is any progress in human knowledge their old *mumpsimus* will not stand long.

LONDON, *September* 1900

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A HISTORY OF GREECE

SECTION I

THE MAKING OF THE GREEK NATION

CHAPTER I

The Earliest Civilisation

Sources.—The most important statements made in this chapter are based on the results of linguistic studies and on the remains of monuments of the earliest civilisation, which will be further discussed by us later on. No connected literary tradition as to this period has come down to us from ancient times. The earliest legend-history of Greece is in large part contained in the *Homeric Epics*, to which was linked the *Epic Cycle*. In the *Genealogical Epics* attempts were made to treat the tales of former times in a comprehensive manner and on learned principles, and especially to determine the pedigrees of the stocks and the princely families of Greece, the ancestral namesakes alike of races and of cities; examples of this are furnished by the Hesiodean *Theogonia* and the *Katalogoi* and *Ehoiai* passing under the name of Hesiodos. After these come, from the eighth and seventh centuries onwards, locally published lists of annual magistrates and records of winners at games, which were later followed by city-chronicles.

The Genealogical Epic was continued by the so-called *Logographoi*, who reproduced in prose the whole of its stock of legends, genealogies, and foundation-stories. *Hellanikos* of Mytilene, a contemporary of Thukydides, deserves mention as the last and most important representative of this class. He brought together in his writings the whole mass of tradition bearing upon the earliest history of Greece, reducing it to a definite chronological system. Of all these sources, with the exception of 'Homer,' nothing but fragments has come down to us. The same has been the fate of the great history composed by *Ephoros* of Kyme in the fourth century, in which he narrated the

whole of Greek history down to his own times. Owing to the use made of this work by Diodoros and Strabon we are able to detect the character of the author. Ephoros was a scholar of the Attic rhetorician Isokrates; he conceived the earlier period as one of mere myth, but subjected legend to rationalistic interpretation.

Of surviving authors, Herodotos (I, 141 ff.) and later Strabon (XIII. i, 3 ff.; XIV. i, 3 ff.) treat of the Ionic and Aiolic colonisations.

§ 1. The Population of Greece, and its Descent

The Greek nation is a branch of the Indogermanic family, whose primitive home is supposed, with some probability, to have been the broad Steppes of Southern Russia. When and by what road the Greeks immigrated into the peninsula which later received the name of *Hellas* cannot be determined; but we shall not be mistaken in assuming that they came from the North, since the later movements among the Greek races also took a southward course. The northern limit within which the Greek stocks settled in a closed mass upon the mainland nearly coincides with the frontier which bounds the modern kingdom of Greece. Their nearest neighbours were the Illyrians on the north-west (in Epeiros) and the Thracians on the north-east.

The universal view of later times was that the earliest population of Greece were the *Pelasgoi*. Some regarded these as barbarians, while others saw in them the forefathers of the later Hellenes and supposed there had been merely a change of name. We now are able to say that these Pelasgians were nothing but a figment of genealogical poetry and history; as a historical race Pelasgians are traceable only in Thessaly, in Crete, and possibly in Attica also.

Besides these, Greek legend mentions by name other peoples whose historical existence is equally dubious—the *Leleges*, who appear along the coasts of Asia Minor, in Central Greece, and in the Peloponnesos; the *Kadmeioi*, inhabiting Boiotia, who were later conceived to be Phoenicians; and the *Abantes* in Euboia. We may however assume that a part of the islands of the Archipelago and

of its western coast were in earlier ages occupied by a non-Greek population, the *Kares*; the *Minyai*, whose mighty dykes in Lake Kopais in Boiotia have recently been brought to light, were likewise a historical race.

What name should be given to the earliest population of Grecian race is uncertain. The Epos terms the inhabitants of the Peloponnesos *Achaioi* and *Danaoi*. Unmistakable signs indicate that they spoke a dialect related to those of Arkadia and Cyprus, and that they were of kindred origin to the later Aiolians and Ionians and distinct from the immigrant Dorians. The severance of the Greek nation into the families known to us from history is the work of a later age.

§ 2. The Culture of Troy and Mykenai

The oldest remains of civilisation on the shores of the Aigaian Sea may be divided into two clearly distinguished stages—the culture of Troy and the culture of Mykenai.

The civilisation of *Troy*, which in point of time takes the first place and perhaps reaches back as far as the third millennium B.C., takes its name from the place where it has been mainly traced, viz. the settlement of *Troia* on the north-western coast of Asia Minor, upon the hill now called Hissarlik. The objects unearthed here are much akin to certain treasure-trove from graves in islands of the Aigaian Sea (the so-called 'Island-Culture') and in Cyprus. This civilisation is at a low stage. It is still far back in the Stone Age, though occasional articles of copper appear in it. The earthenware is moulded by hand; in the 'face-urns' we meet with the earliest attempts at decoration. Typical of it are the idols, fashioned with great rudeness from earthenware or stone. The bearers of this culture were hardly Greeks.

It is otherwise with the culture of *Mykenai*. With this period of art the Greeks make their first entrance into history. Its chief sites are the royal castles of Mykenai and

Tiryns in the plain of Argos; the most important relics have recently been brought to light by Lake Kopais. The extent of this culture may be traced in the buildings and vases peculiar to it. It is found in a series of places along the eastern coast of Greece from Amyklai northwards as far as the Gulf of Pagasai, in Athens and other spots in Attica, and in Boiotia; in addition it spread over the sea to Troy and to Crete, Rhodes, and Cyprus. The sphere thus indicated is marked by such similarity of type that we must regard not only its culture but its nationality also as one and the same.

The civilisation of Mykenai is far more advanced than that of Troy; it habitually employed bronze and copper instead of stone, and under strong Oriental influence developed into great luxuriance of style.

In the first rank stand the castles of Tiryns and Mykenai; similar structures have been found at Troy and on the Akropolis of Athens. In style of building and plan they completely agree with one another. The summit of the castle-hill is surrounded by huge walls composed of gigantic stones, strengthened by towers and allowing of entrance by two gateways; in Tiryns there are also casemates built in the walls. The scheme of the royal palace, the courtyard and the division of the chief chamber, the material of the walls, the colours and painted decorations are in all cases similar. Of equal importance are the graves, which fall into two classes—the *shaft-graves*, such as those on the castle-hill of Mykenai and in the lower town under it, and the *beehive-graves*, chambers shaped like beehives, which were approached by sunken ways and vaulted over with rings of stone corbeling out over one another, and were entered from without by a door and a long corridor. Both the latter and the shaft-graves on the castle-hill of Mykenai served as burial-places for princely families. The corpses were not burned but entombed. Among the articles which were buried together with the dead the gold ornaments and carved gems hold the first rank; the peculiarly painted vases are likewise of importance. For determining the age of this culture we have for our chief criteria the dated art-products of Egyptian origin found in Mykenai and Rhodes, and on the other hand the vases of the Mykenai type discovered in Egypt: they come from the fifteenth and twelfth centuries B.C.

The influence of the East is manifested not only in the structure of the castles but also in the designs upon the articles of gold and the carved gems, which seem to have been mainly imported. The vases on the other hand were home-made; Mykenai was the centre of an important industry, and exported quantities of earthenware. The life of the Greek of those days, and especially that of the princely families, was in

in many respects modelled on the Oriental pattern. The mighty seats of empire and graves indicate a strong royal power, which imposed the labour of building them upon a subject population; to judge from the plan of their burial-places, the latter was divided into definite corporations.

§ 3. Phoenician Influence

Communication between Greece and the East was in the hands of the Phoenicians. Their voyages, which extended even into the Far West, were carried on from the sixteenth down into the twelfth century; even in the songs of the Epos the part played by the 'Sidonians' found an echo. Formerly however scholars were led by Greek legend to hold exaggerated ideas of the importance of the Phoenicians in the development of the Greeks; Kadmos, the mythical founder of Thebes, was accounted an immigrant from Phoenicia. The manner of their settlement on foreign shores excluded the Phoenicians from exercising any profound influence; they were content to set up trading factories at advantageously situated points on the coast and on the islands. There are not many spots where their settlement has left distinct traces—Cyprus, which allured them by its beds of copper, and where they held their ground even in later times; Rhodes and the islands afterwards occupied by the Dorians, viz. Thera, Melos, Oliaros, and Kythera, the last being especially important from its position and the purple-mussel there found. In Crete too a few names attest their former presence. Northwards they advanced as far as Thasos, where they opened gold-mines. Of other settlements that scholars formerly ascribed to them, especially from the worship of such deities as Herakles and Aphrodite, no certain trace can be found. From the twelfth century onward the Phoenicians began to retreat from the Aigaian Sea.

§ 4. Earlier Greek Colonisation

The beginnings of Greek colonisation go back to the Age of Mykenai; they are almost wholly confined within the limits of the Aigaian Sea. The island of Cyprus, which from its

position was of importance in the carrying trade between Nearer Asia and the West, may be regarded as the earliest Greek colony. The dialect of the Greek inhabitants of Cyprus was next of kin to the speech of Arkadia; its colonisation must hence have taken place at a time when the coasts of Peloponnesos were in the possession not of their later lords the Dorians but of a population nearly akin to the Arkadians. A further testimony to the antiquity of this colony lies in the fact that the Greeks in Cyprus used a *syllabary* or alphabet of *syllables*, and hence must have left their fatherland at a time when the practice of writing by single letters was still unknown. The Greeks however occupied only a part of the island; their close contact in daily life with the Phoenicians led to a common 'Greco-Phoenician' culture. From Cyprus the Greeks passed over to the opposite shore of Asia Minor and occupied the coast-plain of Pamphylia.

The same age—between the fourteenth and twelfth centuries—in all probability witnessed the occupation of the islands of the Archipelago and of the western coast of Asia Minor, the 'Ionic' and 'Aiolic' colonisations. In tradition these colonisations are represented as single movements; but such a work can only have been accomplished after many years and repeated endeavours. Moreover the races known later as *Aiolians* and *Ionians* did not journey over to their new homes in close homogeneous bodies; the colonists were a mixed multitude in which the inhabitants of this or that part of their fatherland predominated according to the places from which they started. These original elements, under diverse influences and again with the lapse of a considerable time, developed in their new homes into the well-known groups of races. Corresponding to this gradual process of separation there are two main streams of emigration to be distinguished.

The earlier current is the Northern or *Aiolic* colonisation. Its starting-point, according to legend, was the port of Aulis in Boiotia; the kinship of the dialect spoken by the

'Aiolians' in Asia Minor with that of the inhabitants of Thessaly and Boiotia proves that the bulk of these colonists came from the latter regions. The line of emigration passed obliquely over the Aigaian to the island of *Lesbos*; from the latter and from Tenedos it extended to the fronting shores of northern Asia Minor.

The *Ionic* colonisation is said by legend to have taken place four generations after the movement of the Aiolians. Here likewise the main body came from Central Greece, as is shown by the line of emigration passing over the Kyklades to the middle of the western coast of Asia Minor. It was stated too in the later doctrine that the Ionic colonisation started from Athens and that this city was the 'mother-city' (*mētropolis*) of the Asiatic Ionians. Descendants of Neleus, the son of King Kodros of Athens, were the reputed founders of the Ionic cities. First the islands must have been settled; legend represents them also as having been in large part colonised from Athens. The most important of them are *Euboia*, with the towns of Eretria and Chalkis, *Keos*, *Andros*, *Tenos*, *Syros*, *Paros*, *Naxos*, *Amorgos*, and the central *Delos*. The next stations were *Chios* and *Samos*. Thence the fringe of the coast was occupied; into the interior here the Greeks did not penetrate, any more than the Aiolians did in the north. The most northerly settlement of the Ionians was *Phokaia*; on the south the peninsula of *Miletos* terminated the sphere of their extension. The first rank among them in all that concerned political and intellectual life was held by Miletos. The other settlements were united with it in the League of the Twelve Cities or *Dōdekapolis* (*Phokaia*, *Klazomenai*, *Erythrai*, *Chios*, *Teos*, *Lebedos*, *Kolophon*, *Ephesos*, *Samos*, *Priene*, and *Myus*), of which the centre was the *Panionion* on the promontory of Mykale. Out of this combination, which in origin was mainly religious, grew up the Ionian nation with its uniform language and culture, which in earlier times took the lead in the intellectual development of the whole of Greece. The *Kyklades* united in a league of their own, with its centre in

Delos; its object was the worship of Apollon. In language and writing too they maintained a separate position, and thus it came about that the name of 'Ionians' was chiefly applied to their kindred in Asia Minor.

CHAPTER II

The Dorian Invasion and the Making of the Historical States

§ 5. The Dorian Invasion

Sources.—The earliest surviving mention of the Dorian immigration occurs in Fragment 2 of the lyric poet *Tyrtaios* (seventh century). For the period now ensuing the sources which we have above touched on are supplemented by the chronological works; chief among the latter are the writings of the Hellenistic chroniclers, of whom *Eratosthenes* (end of the third century) and *Apollodoros* (second half of the second century) deserve mention as the most important; they determined the dates of the weightiest events of antiquity. Their works too have come down to us only in fragments. They were used by the Christian annalists of the Imperial Age, of whose works the still surviving chronicle of *Eusebios* (fourth century) calls for chief consideration. The pedigree of the Hellenes is preserved in Hesiodos (Fragment 27, ed. Rzach).

The Dorian immigration is the most important event in the earlier period, for it led to the division of the Hellenic stocks and thus to the formation of their states; with it the Greeks for the first time reached a condition of complete settlement. Its significance was appreciated even by them; the consciousness of having immigrated into their subsequent home was always alive among the Dorian inhabitants of the Peloponnesos. For Greek scholarship the Dorian invasion was one of the leading dates of antiquity; the different estimates of its year all fall within the twelfth or eleventh centuries, which on the whole is correct.

The Dorian invasion is shadowed forth in the legend of the return of Herakles' descendants into their ancestral home. The original seat of the Dorians is represented to have been Thessaly, whence they advanced to Central

Greece; the starting-point of their march upon Peloponnesos was believed to have been the little district of *Doris* by Parnassos, where a detached portion of the race remained. The first attempt to conquer Peloponnesos under the leadership of Hyllos was a failure. A century later it was renewed by Hyllos' great-grandsons. The straits were crossed at Naupaktos, the previous Achaian population was overpowered, and the three brethren divided by lot the land they had conquered; Têmenos obtained *Argos*, Aristodemos *Lakonia*, Kresphontes *Messenia*. Arkadia remained in the hands of its former inhabitants.

When we seek for the origin of the Dorians, we find legend confirmed by the fact that the dialect of the Dorians in Peloponnesos was next of kin to that of the Phokians and Lokrians. By what road the Dorians came into Peloponnesos cannot be determined. The subjection of the previous inhabitants was effected in diverse ways in the several portions of the peninsula; we find subject communities with inferior rights (*Perioikoi* in Sparta and Argolis) and serf-dependents (*Helots* in Sparta). In some states there was added to the three Dorian tribes of *Hylleis*, *Pamphyloi*, and *Dymanes* a new tribe, formed doubtless from the native population. Of the three parts of Peloponnesos known to the legend, Lakonia alone kept its unity; Argolis broke up into a number of minor provinces. The primitive importance of Argolis is shown by the fact that by it were founded a number of cities, afterwards independent—*Corinth*, *Sekyon*, and *Phlius*. From Corinth was colonised *Megara*, from Epidauros the island of *Aigina*.

According to legend, the descendants of Herakles in their invasion of the Peloponnesos employed as guide the Aitolian Oxylos, who received in payment of his services the region of *Elis*, which his forefathers had possessed. Thus about the time of the Dorian immigration Elis too must have been occupied by races coming from the northern side of the Corinthian Gulf, the *Epeioi*; the Eleian speech is closely related to the Doric dialects of Central Greece. Elis split up

into three parts. First was occupied the most northerly portion, 'Hollow Elis,' the level region by the Peneios; the neighbouring highland of *Akroreia*, in which the former population, a race belonging to the Arkadian stock, still held their ground, became the land of Perioikoi. Southwards stretched the *Pisatis* up to the Alpheios, and from the Alpheios up to the Messenian frontier *Triphylia*; both these districts the Eleians strove in repeated conflicts to bring under their sway.

In connexion with the invasion of Peloponnesos by the Dorians there took place a shifting of the Dorian tribes of the North, which in point of time probably preceded the Dorian immigration. The *Thessaloi*, a race that had hitherto dwelt in Epeiros, advanced over Mount Pindos into the lowlands watered by the Peneios, first coming into the district called after them *Thessaliotis*. The former population was reduced to serfdom as tenant-peasants (*Penestai*). The conquerors now adopting the speech of their subjects, they became welded together with them into a homogeneous nation. The government was in the hands of a knightly caste famous for its horse-breeding; at the head of the several commonwealths stood aristocratic families. The cities were not combined into a united state; in case of war or other forms of stress a general (*Tāgos*) was appointed over the whole country, which was divided for purposes of military service into four counties or *Tetrades*.

In consequence of the advance of the Thessalians the *Boiotoi* moved into the country named after them. Here too the conquerors became fused into unity with the native population. This fact finds expression in their language; for the Boiotian dialect is a mixture of Doric and Aiolic elements. The cities were combined in a confederation, in which *Thebes* gained the leadership; by the side of the cities stood a number of dependent districts. The supreme magistrates of the League in after times were the *Boiōtarchoi*.

§ 6. The Extension of the Dorians over the Sea

The share taken by the Dorians in colonising the Aigaian islands and Asia Minor was a result of their settlement in Peloponnesos. With them too this emigration cannot have been a single movement. They settled upon the southern parts of the Kyklades and upon Crete. Foundation-legends credit Argos with the chief share in colonisation, Sparta taking a second place. Kythera, opposite to the southern extremity of Peloponnesos, lent itself to be their first station; their most important settlement was that of the island of *Crete*. The significance of Crete is illustrated by the legend of King Minos and his empire over the Aigaian Sea. Even before the entrance of the Dorians its population was partly Greek. The Dorians did not create any homogeneous state in Crete, but founded a large number of cities (90 or 100, according to Homer), of which the most important were Gortyn (in which was found a few years ago the Code of Twelve Tables, the work of a later period), Knosos, Hierapytna, Kydonia, Lyttos, &c. The institutions of the island resembled in many points those of the Dorian mainland. The bulk of the original inhabitants were reduced to a condition of serfdom; in historical times rulers and subjects form a homogeneous people.

As the colonisation of Crete was traced back to Argos, so that of *Melos* and *Thera* was referred to Sparta; further eastward follow *Anaphe* and *Astypalaia*, *Kasos* and *Karpathos*. Greater importance was attained by the islands of *Kos* and *Rhodes*, close to Asia Minor. In Rhodes three cities were established by the Argives—*Ialysos*, *Lindos*, and *Kamiros*. From the islands the Dorians passed over to the shores of Asia Minor and occupied their fringe. Their most prominent centres, *Knidos* and *Halikarnassos*, formed together with Kos and Rhodes a confederation of six cities, the Doric *Hexapolis*.

The result of these migrations was the making of the

stocks. The Greeks regarded this division into *Dorians*, *Aiolians*, and *Ionians* as primitive, and schematically represented them under the form of a family-tree, according to which *Hellen* had three sons *Doros*, *Aiolos*, and *Xuthos*, *Ion* and *Achaios* figuring as sons of the last-named. Such a division cannot be maintained in face of the results of the study of the dialects. The Greeks classed together as 'Aiolians' all that did not belong to the Dorians and Ionians, whereas we can count as Aiolic dialects in the strict sense of the word none but the Boiotian and Thessalian and the speech of the Aiolians in Asia Minor, with Lesbos, Pordoselena, and Tenedos; in the wider extension of the term we may reckon in the Arkadian and Cyprian. To the 'Ionic' group belonged the Ionians in Asia Minor and the inhabitants of the Kyklades, Euboia, and Attica. The 'Doric' dialects were the Phokian and Lokrian in Central Greece, the Doric tongues of the Peloponnesos, Crete, and Asia Minor, and in the wider sense the Eleian also. The common designation of the Greeks as *Hellenes* appears first in the seventh century; in the epics 'Hellas' signifies a district in Southern Thessaly. The name *Peloponnesos* also is comparatively late, and occurs for the first time in Tyrtaios.

The Greeks originally settled down in open village communities, *Kōmai*. The *Komai* lying together in one district mostly made up a State, and thus arise names of districts, such as Argos, Attica, Boiotia, Elis, &c. In the western parts of Greece this organisation lasted on until the fifth century. Along the eastern coast, on the islands, and earliest of all in the colonies of Asia Minor the course of development led to the formation of a City, *Polis*, as in most cases the open settlements were contracted into municipalities enclosed within the circuit of a wall. The City became a political unity, the State. In the East the political cohesion of the district was broken up by it. Only two cities, Athens and Sparta, maintained the unity of the districts belonging to them.

§ 7. The Rise of Aristocracy

Sources.—The principal sources of information are the Homeric Epos and scattered remarks as to the constitutions of individual cities, much being found in Aristotle's *Politics* and the fragments of his *Politeiai*. For the constitutions of cities and associations the inscriptions are of importance.

A further result of settled life was the division of the people into orders and the growth of an aristocracy. Originally among the Greeks, as among the Indogermans generally, the tribe seems to have been composed of freemen with equal rights; at its head stood the king. This state of things lasted on in the early days of settled life, for in that age the plough-land was the collective property of the community, which assigned to its members shares therein, or *klēroi*, for cultivation and enjoyment. As a result of continued residence on the spots once occupied and of improving husbandry of the soil, these land-lots were gradually converted into hereditary private property; there came to be great landowners and landless men. The aristocrats in Homer style themselves 'the best,' 'the noblest'; this title is based not merely on the consciousness of personal ability, but also on descent from a noble father. The aristocrat has his family-tree, which is traced back to a god or hero; he and all that acknowledge the same ancestor form together a 'family' (*genos*, *patrā*). The division into 'families' is extended to the whole people, and henceforth continues to prevail. By its side still live on the old associations, the *Phȳlai* and *Phrātriai*. The distinction between the orders is displayed equally in their equipment; the commons form the infantry, while the aristocrats hold the front rank, fighting in chariots, afterwards on horseback. A large number of free burghers sink into dependence on the aristocracy; many also lose their personal liberty.

The leading of the Folk is the duty of the hereditary King, a descendant of the gods. For him is set apart a

private estate; his is the superior share in the booty of war, and to him the people pay dues. He has the guidance and the right to unconditional obedience in war; in peace he offers sacrifice for the people, and in company with the Council lays down the law on the basis of tradition. He invites the noblest and the elder aristocrats to banquet in his palace and discusses with them affairs of state. The commons too may be summoned by him to deliberation on weighty matters; the Assembly gives utterance to its opinions by assenting applause or by silence.

The course of development tended to strengthen the hands of the nobility and to enfeeble the authority of the kingship. This is shewn by the fact that the title *King* or *Basileus* was extended first to the members of the Council and then to the higher nobility in general. His former powers were in part taken away from the king and transferred to magistrates. The organ of the nobility was the *Council*, of which the members were no longer selected by the king. The royal power was displaced without violent revolution, through the continual decrease of its functions and through its conversion into a magistracy tenable for a limited time and no longer restricted to one particular family. This course reached its conclusion in the eighth and seventh centuries. In the West however and at the borders of the Grecian world — in Macedon, Epeiros, and Cyprus, and also in Sparta—the kingly power maintained itself longer.

The forms of *Aristocracy* were various. Sometimes the members of the royal family carried on the government, sometimes the great landowners; or else a certain number of families had a share in the guidance of the state. Occasionally also full political rights were vested in a considerable body of burghers, in all who could prove themselves possessed of a certain income. In general the Council was the most potent magisterial body in the state. To its province belonged in the first instance the right of laying down the law, which was all the more important as there was no written law and verdicts were framed in accordance with tradition.

§ 8. The Colonisation of the Mediterranean Sea

Sources.—As regards this colonisation numerous estimates of dates have been preserved, which for the most part are of no historical value. Regarding the settlement of Sicily by the Greeks and the native races of the island information is given by *Thukydides* (VI. 2–5), who perhaps has drawn upon the writer *Antiochos* of Syracuse (fifth century). As to foundations in general, much from Ephoros is conveyed in the geographical school-poem of the so-called *Skymnos*; for Lower Italy our notice is chiefly claimed by the fragments of the eighth book of *Diodoros* and by the sixth book of the geographer *Strabon*. The latter, who lived in the beginning of the Imperial Age of Rome, has copiously drawn upon the researches of earlier authors. Both Strabon and Diodoros seem to have based their histories in the first instance upon *Timaios* of Tauromenion, who lived in the second half of the fourth and the first half of the third centuries and wrote a comprehensive work, founded on learned study, on the history of the Greeks in Sicily and Italy from the earliest times. For the colonies on the Hellespontos reference should be made to Strabon in his seventh and thirteenth books, for Pontos the same author in his seventh book; on Naukratis, Herodotos, II. 154, and Strabon, XVII. 1, 18; on Kyrene, Herodotos, IV. 150 ff.

The settlement of the coasts of Asia Minor and of the islands was continued in the period beginning with the Dorian invasion and ending with the victory of aristocracy. The portions of the Aigaian which were still in the hands of barbarian tribes were now occupied; in the East the shores of the Black Sea were opened up, on the West Sicily and Lower Italy. The causes of this new emigration were the increase of trade and communication, the necessity for meeting the wants of the home-country's growing population by opening up new homes, and political struggles within the communities. This period of colonisation comprises the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.; the settlements in the West and the Aigaian have their beginnings in the eighth century, whilst the cities in Pontos were founded in the seventh.

The points of departure for these new settlements were a limited number of cities in the home-country and Asia Minor. For the West *Chalkis* and *Euboia*, *Corinth* and *Megara* are of prime importance. For Lower Italy the *Achaians* have the first claim to consideration; of the cities

of Asia Minor *Rhodes* alone was concerned in the colonisation of Sicily. In the settlement of the Northern Aigaian also *Chalkis* and *Eretria* deserve special mention. The colonisation of the Propontis and the Black Sea was mainly the work of *Miletos*, while Megara settled the Bosporos. These points of departure were at the same time the first centres of trade in contemporary Greece. They put into the shade other cities which had hitherto been of great importance, such as Argos.

Colonies in Sicily.—Of the native races who possessed the island before the coming of the Greeks, the *Elymoi* are of uncertain origin; they dwelt in the extreme west, in the cities of Eryx and Segesta. The main body of the population consisted of the *Sikanoi* in the west and the *Sikeloi* in the east, both of which were Italic tribes. The extremities of Sicily and the islands on its coasts were occupied by the *Phoenicians*, who on the arrival of the Greeks drew back to Motye, Soloeis, and Panormos. The oldest Greek colony was *Naxos*, reputed to have been founded in 735 B.C. by settlers from Chalkis; by it were founded *Katane* on the coast and *Leontinoi* in the interior. A year after Katane had come into existence *Syracuse* was founded by Corinth; on their way thither the colonists secured for Corinth *Korkyra* (Corfu) in the Ionic Sea. At the time of the foundation of Katane endeavours were made by the Megarians to gain a footing in Sicily, and these led to the creation of *Megara Hyblaia*; of more importance was the colony of *Selinus* on the south-western coast of the island, which sprang from the latter city one hundred years after its foundation. Rhodes, in union with Cretan emigrants, established *Gela* about 690 on a fertile coast; a century afterwards the latter in its turn brought *Akragas* into existence.

Already in the period in which the older settlements in Sicily arose, if not earlier, the Greeks began to plant themselves in *Lower Italy*. The races of South-Western Italy were classed together under the name of *Oinotroi*; in the south-east dwelt the *Iapyges* and *Messapioi*. Further north,

in the Campanian plain tenanted by the Oscans, arose in the last third of the eighth century *Kyme*, the oldest Greek colony. Of all Greek cities in Italy it attained the highest importance, for it was the centre of the trade with the Italic races and imparted to them the acquisitions of Grecian culture, such as the alphabet. Its colonies too became potent. The first of these was *Neapolis* (Naples), hard by; then pirates from Kyme founded *Zankle* on the straits dividing Sicily from the mainland. At the instance of the men of Zankle the Chalkidians occupied a point on the opposite coast which received the name of *Rhegion*. On the northern shore of Sicily too emigrants from Zankle settled down and founded *Himera*.

The most southerly peninsula of Italy was the almost exclusive domain of the colonies of the *Achaians* from the northern region of Peloponnesos. They appropriated the whole district from the Tarentine to the Tyrrhenian Gulf, and planted mainly agricultural colonies. Their earliest settlement was *Sybaris*, which rose to great wealth. The city next in importance was *Kroton*, the settlement third in consideration *Metapontion*. Besides the Achaians, a share in colonisation was taken by the Eastern Lokrians from Opus; soon after Kroton came into existence the foundation of *Lokroi Epizephyrioi* took place. The circle of Greek settlements in Lower Italy was rounded off by *Taras* (Tarentum), the only colony despatched by Sparta beyond the sphere of its immediate neighbourhood. Its founders bore the name of *Parthenioi*. The Achaian colonies from the fifth century were classed together under the title 'Great Greece' (*Magna Graecia*), a term which was extended in a wider sense to embrace the whole of Lower Italy occupied by Greeks.

In the colonial cities of Sicily and Lower Italy also the rule of the aristocracy asserted itself. In Syracuse there stood at the head of the state a class of knightly landowners, the *Gāmoroi*, to which the Sikel population, the so-called *Kyllyrioi*, were subject as serfs.

Greek colonisation in the West was terminated in point

of time by *Massalia* (Marseilles) on the southern coast of Gaul; this was planted about 600 B.C. by the Phokaians, who some time previously had embarked on voyages as far as Tartessos in Iberia. Massalia rose to an importance equal to that of Kyme; it was the centre of trade with the North and West, and in the fifth century founded a number of colonies on the shores of Spain and Gaul.

Colonisation in the North of the Aigaian Sea.—The Thracian and Macedonian coasts were of importance through their wealth of timber for shipbuilding and their beds of precious metals. Chalkis and Eretria planted a series of cities upon the three-tongued peninsula which later received the name *Chalkidike*. The evidence for its colonisation by Eretria is the better, but the Chalkidians, as the name given to the whole district shews, arose gradually to predominance. Here too we find Corinth active; upon the strip of land joining the body of the peninsula to Pallene arose its settlement of *Poteidaia*. Further towards the east the Parians occupied the island of *Thasos* and the opposite mainland; at both these points they worked the gold-mines. Lastly mention has to be made of a series of colonies on the Thracian coast which were founded by cities of Asia Minor—*Maroneia* (planted by Chios), *Samothrake* (by Samos), and *Ainos* (by Mytilene).

Settlement of the Hellespontos, Propontis, and Black Sea.—In the first instance streams of emigrants poured from Lesbos to the *Troad*; the Aiolic colonisation extended further to the Thracian Chersonnesos across the straits. From the Hellespontos begins the colonial sphere of the Ionian cities of Asia Minor; the cities on the Asiatic side, *Abydos*, *Arisbe*, *Paisos*, and *Parion*, and on the Chersonnesos *Limnai* and *Kardia* were colonies of the Milesians. Of the other Ionian cities Phokaia planted *Lampsakos*. The coasts of the Propontis too were in large part appropriated by the Milesians. The starting-point for their further extension was *Kyzikos*; thence they settled the whole southern fringe of the Propontis up to the Bosporos. The important place on the Bosporos which dominated the trade-route into Pontos was

occupied by the Megarians; to them *Kalchadon* on the Asiatic side and *Byzantion* on the European coast owed their origin.

The opening up of the Black Sea by the Milesians and the occupation of its shores belong to the seventh century B.C.; from the time of the Greek colonisation it bore the name of *Pontos Euxeinos*, 'Hospitable Sea.' Tradition speaks of more than ninety colonies of the Milesians. The northern fringe of Asia Minor in particular was planted by them with numerous cities, among which *Sinope* rose to importance as a trading town, so that it in its turn after Miletos colonised the whole eastern corner of the Black Sea as far as Kolchis. The Milesians ventured even to the shores of Southern Russia, the domains of the Scythians, a region whose inexhaustible wealth in grain promised rich profit. The most important settlement on this side was *Olbia* on the Borysthenes. The other colonies also grew into notable places of trade—*Tyras* and the towns of *Theodosia*, *Panti-kapaion*, and *Phanagoreia* on the Maiotis. On the western coast of the Black Sea, south of the Istros (Danube), the Milesians founded *Istros*, *Tomoi*, *Odessos*, and *Apollonia*. In the sixth century the Megarians too began to gain a footing here by their side. In Bithynia *Herakleia* was founded by them; from the latter originated *Chersonnesos* on the south-western extremity of the Crimea and *Mesambria* on the Thracian coast of Pontos.

Colonies in Egypt.—The circle of colonisation in this age was rounded off by the foothold which the Greeks gained in *Egypt*. Psammetichos, the local prince of Sais, had won empire over the whole of Egypt by the aid of Ionian and Karian mercenary troops, and during his reign supported himself mainly by these foreign auxiliaries. He was likewise careful to throw Egypt open to trade with the Greeks. Here again the Milesians held the lead. First they set up a trading settlement on the Bolbinitic mouth of the Nile; then they founded on the Kanobic arm of the river, to the west of Sais, the city of *Naukratis*. This has been recently excavated by English scholars, and the beds thus opened shew

that it came into existence about 650 B.C. Under Amasis an expansion of the colony took place. Naukratis became the emporium of the Greeks in Egypt; here were settled their various races with their respective temples, besides which there was a common sanctuary for all.

The Libyan tableland on the north-west of Egypt was likewise drawn into the field of Greek colonisation. Emigrants from Thera set up the city of *Kyrene* about 630 B.C.; their leader is represented by legend to have been *Battos*, who was accounted also the first king of the new state. The dominion of the city gradually came to extend over the whole tableland; the chief product of the country, the silphion plant, brought to the rulers a rich revenue. Under the third king, Battos II., the colony was strengthened by a powerful reinforcement from Crete and Peloponnesos; and an attack upon Kyrene by King Apries of Egypt was resisted with success. In the reign of the next king, Arkesilaos II., his brothers left Kyrene on account of domestic dissensions and founded the city of *Barka*.

The settlers of colonies at first were probably dependent upon their native city; gradually they became independent, but as a rule there remained a union of hearts between mother-city and colony.

§ 9. The Military State in Sparta

Sources.—The Spartan constitution was much discussed in antiquity—occasionally in *Herodotos*, by *Xenophon* in his treatise 'On the State of the Lakedaimonians,' by *Ephoros*, and in a polemical fashion by *Aristotle*. The legend of Lykurgos appears in developed form in the 'Lykurgos' of *Plutarch*.

From the information given by Ephoros as to the Cretan constitution we possess a considerable extract in the tenth book of Strabon; to this has now to be added the *Law of Gortyn*, which has survived as an inscription and probably dates from the beginning of the fifth century.

In contrast to the changes in the rest of Greece, Sparta and the Cretan cities stood still at a stage of constitutional growth which was far more antiquated than the condition of things depicted in Homer. The characteristic sign of this

is that no aristocracy grew up in either country. The organisation given to the Spartan State fitted it for great military efforts and for a leading position in Greece.

Tradition, especially as developed after the beginning of the fourth century, ascribed the merit of having created the Spartan institutions or *Kosmos* to the legislation of *Lykurgos*. Lykurgos was said to have been of royal blood, uncle and guardian of a king; it was in the latter quality that he accomplished his work as a legislator, after having previously collected the requisite experiences in travel. According to a wide-spread view he borrowed his laws from the Cretans; the opinion however came to prevail that the Delphian Oracle had inspired him to his work, in the form of sententious utterances in verse or of prose rules, *rhētrai*. Nor did the ancients agree on the date of Lykurgos' life; he was chiefly put in the ninth century. In reality Lykurgos is not a historical personality, but a figment of religion; the work attributed to him did not originate from any individual, but was the result of a long course of development.

The basis of the Spartan state is a ruling class of perfectly free burghers with equal rights (*Spartiatai*), assembled in the capital, which consisted of several open villages. Below these were the serfs or *Helots* and the free subjects dwelling together in communities, the *Perioikoi*. The larger part of the land occupied by the Spartans was made the property of the community and divided out into land-lots (*klēroi*), originally all of the same size, which were assigned for their support to the free burghers of the community, and might not be alienated. The work of husbandry was done by the Helots, who had to deliver to the owners a fixed proportion of the produce. The *Helots* were slaves of the state, and were also called upon for military service. Any property other than real estate was forbidden to Spartans; even after the introduction of coined money in other states the Spartans clung to iron as a medium of exchange. The pursuit of commerce and industry devolved upon the *Perioikoi*, who were left in possession of the land lying within the bounds of their cities; they too performed military service.

The *Agōgē*, the Spartiates' education and form of life, was calculated to train them to the utmost possible smartness in war. The boys whose bodily fitness had been officially ascertained at their birth were divided into troops under state supervision and brought up together. The men were grouped in companies of 'messmates' and 'tent-fellows'; every one had to bring in his fixed contribution to the common mess.

The army consisted of the close heavy infantry, which marched with equal step; it was divided into *morai*. Sparta never went so far as to establish a cavalry force; the 300 'Knights' were a crack corps of infantry.

In the several organs of the State we again find the peculiarities of an earlier age. Hereditary royalty survived in the form of a kingship held by two, an institution found at an early date in other Greek states as well. Of the two royal houses, the *Agidai* and the *Eurypontidai*, the former ranked as the higher. The powers of the kings were continually being curtailed, to the gain of the people and the magistrates; this was most clearly illustrated by the fact that they ceased to be free from responsibility. In war they kept their powers without curtailment; in peace they possessed little more than a few honorary privileges. Their revenues consisted of the produce of their domains and of their share in sacrifices and first-fruits; at the State table they received twofold portions. On their death a national mourning was ordained; their burial was performed with great pomp.

The Council or *Gerūsiā* consisted of twenty-eight members above sixty years of age, who were chosen by the people for life; besides these it contained the two kings, who had no more voice in the voting than other councillors. This Council held control over the state; in contrast to it the Communal Assembly or *Apella* lost influence. The latter had no power to initiate measures of its own; any proposal detrimental to the State which it might pass could be quashed by the kings in union with the Gerusia.

The *Ephoroi*, a board of five officials elected by the people for a year's service, came by degrees to be the most powerful magistracy in Sparta. The origin of this office is unknown; it certainly was not a part of the earliest institutions. To judge from its subsequent functions, it was a board of general supervision; the continual dissensions between the two royal families resulted in the Ephors obtaining the right of summoning the kings before them and imprisoning them. They had likewise the jurisdiction in civil suits.

CHAPTER III

The Strife of the Orders and the Rise of Democracy

The transformation in the Greek world that now follows takes up the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. In this period were finally developed the constitutional forms which determined the political life of later times.

§ 10. Economic Changes and their Results

Sources.—The invention of coinage by the Lydians is reported by Herod. I. 94; for the rest our authorities are the facts of metrology and numismatics. The economic transformation is perceived most distinctly in Athens. As to Zaleukos and Charondas there are many scattered pieces of information, especially in Diodoros, Book XII., and Strabon, Book VI.

The growth of the sphere of Greek nationality was accompanied by an expansion of commerce. Hitherto husbandry had been the chief source of livelihood; now trade begins to throw it into the shade. To the already-mentioned trading towns has now to be added the little island of *Aigina*, which had taken no part in colonisation. In the commercial centres there grew up thriving industries, which were pursued on a wholesale scale with slaves as workmen and produced articles for export into the barbarian lands bordering on the colonies; and thus was formed a new order, the class of industrial workers and traders. In connexion with the advance of transmarine commerce improvements were made in shipbuilding; the Corinthians are said to have built the first triremes. In this period navies came into existence; the earliest sea-fight, that between Corinth and Korkyra, is assigned to the year 664.

Weights and Measures.—Commercial traffic needed for its regulation a standard of universal currency and a measure of value which should be secure against fluctuation and recognised by the state. Hence in the seventh century there arose the system of weights and measures; it was derived from the Babylonian system, and by its origin testifies to the commercial relations of Greece with the East. Its unit is the Talent (*talanton*); this contains 60 *minas* (*mnai*), one *mnā* containing 50 *statēres* or 100 *drachmai*, and one *drachmē* equalling 6 *oboloi*.

This arrangement underwent various alterations in detail; but in the main there were two systems, those of *Aigina* and *Euboia*, which attained wide currency. Connected with this was the introduction of coined money. Hitherto trade had been chiefly barter; as a recognised medium of exchange

were used sticks or bars of copper and iron, which were weighed out in purchase.

The invention of *coins*, that is, certain pieces of precious metal that were stamped by the State with its escutcheon and were possessed of a value determined by it, is due to the Lydians; they struck the first coins of an alloy of gold and silver, at the beginning of the seventh century. This new acquisition soon spread to the Greeks. Corresponding to the two metrical systems, two standards of coinage gained currency, with silver as their material; these were the *Aiginetic*, which spread over the mainland of Greece, with the exception of Corinth, and over the Kyklades and Crete, and the *Euboic*, which was adopted by Corinth as well as by the colonies of Euboia. Thus were marked the bounds of the two great commercial spheres into which Greece was then divided.

The transition caused by the introduction of coinage from the economic basis of kind to a monetary system brought in its train tremendous revolutions. Its first effect was unfavourable to the less wealthy, especially the land-owning peasantry and tenant-farmers. At the same time this class was made to suffer severely from the competition of imported produce, particularly of Pontic and Sicilian grain. Hence they were frequently forced to take refuge in borrowing from the great landowners or the landlords; if they could not repay their debt or make up their rents they became forfeit in person to their creditors, and might be sold into slavery.

On the other hand the transformation of military tactics tended to shake the position of the ruling class; the place of the warriors fighting in chariots and of the horsemen was taken by the compact heavy-armed infantry or *hoplitai*, of which the flower consisted of burghers of middle rank and moderate means.

Peasants and townsmen, grouped together under the common name of *Dēmos*, united in demanding that the law should be written down and published. Hence in this age—from the seventh century onward into the beginning of the

sixth century—we hear of *legislations* in the various parts of the Hellenic world, which as a rule consisted in some citizen being entrusted with unlimited powers in order to register and recast the law. The oldest legislator is said to have been *Zaleukos* in the Italic Lokroi; his rules were accounted by antiquity as the earliest code. The tradition concerning him and *Charondas* of Katane is overgrown with mythical traits. The laws of Charondas were adopted in the other Italic and Sicilian cities of Chalkidic origin. Besides these and *Drakon* and *Solon* in Athens, mention is made also of *Pheidon* in Corinth, *Philolaos* in Thebes, and *Pittakos* in Mytilene. Each of these codes embraced not only the laws of the family, of inheritance, and of punishment, but also civic discipline and morals; the new conditions of commercial traffic were likewise regulated. The degrees of punishment, hitherto left to be fixed at the discretion of the individual judge, were now determined by the law; but their severity was notorious, as in the case of Drakon.

§ 11. Conquests of Sparta

Sources.—The little certain information that we have of the Messenian Wars is found in the fragments of the contemporary lyric poet *Tyrtaios;* the current account occurs in *Pausanias* (second century A.D.), whose chief sources were late versions with romantic ornamentation, viz. the narrative of *Myron* of Priene (second century B.C.) for the first war and the epic poem of *Rhianos* the Cretan (third century B.C.) for the second war. On Pheidon of Argos see especially Herod. VI. 127 and Strabon VIII. 3 (from Ephoros), supplemented by the dates given by the chroniclers. The legend of the foundation of the Olympic games is given by Aristotle in Plutarch, *Lykurgos*, ch. 1. The victories of Sparta over Tegea are recounted by Herod. I. 67 ff.

Sparta at the outset does not seem to have had the whole valley of the Eurotas under its control; but the Spartan State naturally tended to grow by further conquests. The demand for the creation of new land-lots in order to meet the constant increase of the dominant population led to a policy of expansion. The nearest neighbours were Argos, the cantons of Arkadia, and Messenia.

Sparta seems first to have assailed *Messenia*, whose fruitful plain on the Pamisos was the most convenient ground for the extension of the Spartan glebe. The earlier history of Messenia is overgrown with a crop of later fictions; but it appears certain that the district to the east of the Pamisos was even before the first war occupied by communities of Lakonian *Perioikoi*. The tradition as to the Messenian Wars is obscure. As regards the first war it seems to be clear that the credit of having conquered Messenia belongs to the Spartan king Theopompos and that the struggle came to an end in its twentieth year. According to the most generally current calculation of antiquity, it took up the years 743–724 B.C. The Messenians, so far as they remained in the country, were reduced to the rank of Helots; the coast became the land of the Perioikoi.

Sparta was less successful against *Argos*, which had extended its rule over the eastern shores of Peloponnesos and Kythera; continual struggles went on, centring in particular on the conquest of the region of *Kynuria*. In the year 669/8 the Spartans suffered a severe defeat at *Hysiai*.

To this age probably belongs King *Pheidon* of Argos. Of him it is related that he forcibly took the festival of Olympia out of the hands of the Eleians and celebrated it himself; the introduction of the weights and measures current in Peloponnesos is likewise traced back to him. As to his date much disagreement prevailed already in ancient times; it probably falls between the First and Second Messenian Wars.

The worship of Zeus in *Olympia* goes back to immemorial antiquity; when the sports in honour of the god were established is uncertain. King Iphitos of Elis and Lykurgos of Sparta are said to have been specified on an ancient document as the first founders of its constitution and of the festival-truce. The starting-point for the list of victors is the year 776; from this were reckoned the Olympiads. The management of the sports was in the hands of the Eleians, but was contested by the Pisatans. In course of time friendly rela-

tions grew up between the Spartans and the Eleians, whilst the Messenians sought support from the Pisatans. Pheidon may have interfered on behalf of the Pisatans, and procured for them the presidency of the sanctuary; they held this from 660 B.C. for twenty-two Olympiads.

Arkadia was likewise assailed by the Spartans. All the foes of Sparta banded themselves together when the Messenians strove to shake off the yoke that had been laid upon them. As to this Second Messenian War, which probably broke out about the middle of the seventh century, we are imperfectly informed; but the memory of the champion and leader of the insurgents, *Aristomenes*, lived on through centuries. With the Messenians were leagued the Argives, Arkadians, and Pisatans. In the first period fortune was not on the side of the Spartans; the tide did not turn until the lead was taken by the singer *Tyrtaios*, reputed to have been sent from Athens, but in reality a Spartan. The decisive blow was struck in the battle at the 'Great Ditch'; but the Messenians maintained themselves some years longer in the north of the country, in their mountain-stronghold *Eira*. After its capture a portion of them went away to foreign lands; the rest sank back into the condition of Helots.

After the final reduction of Messenia the efforts of the Spartans were directed towards acquiring *Arkadia*; but *Tegea* was not subdued by them until about the middle of the sixth century. The city was not made subject, but bound by treaty to lend help in war, a compact that laid the foundation-stone of the Peloponnesian *Symmachiā*; the other Arkadian cantons in time also came under the leadership of Sparta. The Eleians succeeded in overpowering the Pisatans; they moreover retained the supervision over the Olympian sanctuary without further disturbance, and their friendly relations with Sparta must have taken the form of a bond of alliance. Only the Argives remained hostile; but about 546 they were defeated at *Thyrea*, and now the possession of the eastern coast came into the hands of Sparta.

The Peloponnesian *Symmachiā* was a war-league. Its members had to render military service to their leader, Sparta, and to contribute towards the expenses of campaigns; and at the meetings of the confederates was discussed the question of peace or war.

§ 12. The Age of Tyrannis

Sources.—On the Lydian kingdom see *Herodotos*, I.; on the *tyrannis* in Greece proper *Herodotos* (oldest tradition), III. 48 ff 92, and the fragments (58-60) from the Universal History of *Nikolaos* of Damascus, an author of the early Imperial Age who drew upon Ephoros. The story of Kleisthenes of Sekyon is told by Herodotos, V. 67 ff. In the collection of poems passing under the name of *Theognis* various elements are combined, some of which are really the work of Theognis.

The demands of the Demos went much further than a registration of the law; they included equality of rights with the ruling class in the guidance of the State and relief from their financial distress. As a result of the continuance of internal strife men of ambition and energy, mostly favourite leaders of the commons, seized upon monarchical power and secured it for some time to themselves and their families. The term for this form of government is *Tyrannis*; those who swayed it were styled *Tyrannoi*, 'tyrants.'

Most of the tyrants were highly cultured men and exercised their sovereignty to the benefit of the people. They shewed an especially active interest in the welfare of the lower orders. The town population was employed on works of general utility, as the construction of temples and public buildings, the laying out of streets and canals. This resulted in a notable advance of the fine arts, which was further promoted by the display of splendour and luxury made by the new courts. Their furtherance of the arts went hand in hand with their patronage of poetry, of which the most eminent representatives were drawn by the tyrants to their sides. Earnest attention was given likewise to forms of worship and religious festivals, especially to those of which the lower orders had hitherto been the supporters; these were now raised to the rank of State

worships. The internal development of the States was displayed in the growth of their spheres of sovereignty by foundation of colonies and acquisition of transmarine possessions. The tyrannis was an inevitable preliminary to subsequent development; its lasting merit is the freedom it conferred upon the peasant and artisan classes.

Lydia and the Cities of Asia Minor.—We know least of the tyrannis in Asia Minor. The importance of this age to the Greeks there lay in their relations with the neighbouring kingdom of Lydia. The founder of the dynasty of the Mermnadai, *Gyges* (from the beginning of the seventh century), had made war against the Greek cities, in order to gain possession of the coast. His plans were crossed by the invasions of the nomad *Kimmerioi* from Southern Russia, who visited Asia Minor with their forays, in which Gyges met with his death. They seem to have continued their inroads under his successor *Ardys*, who after their withdrawal took up his predecessor's policy. The subjection of the whole of Ionia was the work of the last Lydian king, *Kroisos* (probably 560–546 B.C.). His treatment of the Greek cities was gentle; they appear to have retained their freedom of administration, paying only a tribute. The Lydian kingdom had thus spread over the whole of Western Asia Minor, and reached from the sea up to the Halys.

Of the distracted condition of things in Mytilene we gain information in the poems of Alkaios; at length (in the beginning of the sixth century) *Pittakos* was elected *aisymnētēs* for ten years and entrusted with the guidance of the State. In this quality he framed his above-mentioned code of laws (§ 10).

The Tyrannis in the States of the Isthmos.—The greatest power was attained by the tyrants in the States situated on the Isthmos. In *Corinth* the ruling family of nobles known as the *Bacchiadai* was overthrown by *Kypselos*, whose youth is described in a vein of romance. He reigned for thirty years (657–627 B.C.). The Bacchiads for the most part fled away, and their property was confiscated; in other re-

spects the rule of Kypselos is said to have been moderate. It is marked by the expansion of the Corinthians' colonial sphere on the north-west. Korkyra had broken away a short time before the overthrow of the aristocracy; now the coast of Akarnania was colonised in order to secure the trade with the West.

Of more importance than Kypselos was his son and successor *Periandros* (627–586 B.C.). He waged war against his father-in-law, the tyrant of Epidauros; he succeeded in bringing Korkyra back to its allegiance, and in the north he founded *Poteidaia* in Pallene. On the other hand his design of cutting through the isthmos of Corinth failed on account of physical difficulties. He keenly appreciated poetry and art; the poet *Arion* lived in his society, and like his father he dedicated works of art at Olympia. His character, according to Herodotos, was one of unusual harshness; his wife and his son met with their death through his fault. Hence it came about that he was followed on the throne by his nephew *Psammetichos*, who was slain after a reign of three years. The place of tyranny was taken by an oligarchy. Korkyra recovered its independence.

The tyrannis arose in *Sekyon* about 665. As its founder is named sometimes *Andreas*, sometimes *Orthagoras*, the rule of whose family lasted for about a century. It found its support in the hitherto enslaved peasantry, whose Achaian blood had remained fairly free from contamination. Of these tyrants the best known is *Kleisthenes* (from the end of the seventh to the beginning of the sixth centuries), who in the unsparing vigour of his measures surpassed all other rulers. He altered the basis of the constitution by making a new division of the *phylai* or tribes, suppressed the cult of the Dorian national hero Adrastos, and instead claimed worship for the people's favourite god Dionysos, for whose festival he introduced tragic choruses. As his participation in the Sacred War proves, Kleisthenes won for himself a position of influence in Greece; with the Attic nobility he formed a close connexion through the marriage of his daughter to a

member of the Alkmeonid family. After his death the tyrannis lasted on for sixty years.

In *Megara* the opposition of the peasantry to the nobility of the town and the trading class resulted in the elevation of *Theagenes*. His date is determined by the fact that Kylon was his son-in-law. After his death a moderate government held rule, which again was soon followed by the bitterest faction-struggles; the poems of the aristocrat *Theognis* give a lively picture of their intensity. The lower orders issued victorious from the conflict; afterwards a reconciliation of the parties seems to have been brought about, and with it came the restoration of a moderate oligarchy.

In Sicily the tyrannis appeared at the same time as in the home-country. The widest celebrity was gained by *Phalaris* of Akragas, who seized upon the government in 571. He was notorious for his cruelty, concerning which manifold stories were current, notably that of the brazen bull in which he was said to have burnt men to death. He was overthrown after a reign of sixteen years.

§ 13. The Democracy of Athens

Sources.—The oldest sources of information as to the Solonian reforms and the previous conditions are the fragmentary remains of Solon's own poems. Single notices are supplied by *Herodotos* (on Kylon V. 71, on Peisistratos I. 59 ff., on the expulsion of the tyrants and on Kleisthenes V. 62 ff., 66 ff.) and *Thukydides* (on the rule of the Peisistratids and the tyrannicides VI. 54 ff.). A connected account of Athenian constitutional history down to 403, the year of the archon Eukleides, was given by Aristotle in the first part (ch. 1-41) of his work on 'The Constitution of the Athenians,' recovered a few years ago, which was composed between 329 8 and 325/4, without being finished, and which formed part of his great collection, the 'Constitutions.' Aristotle did not make for his work special studies of the documentary material; as his sources he used for some points Herodotos and Thukydides, throughout an 'Atthis' or Chronicle, and for certain parts an oligarchic partisan-pamphlet produced at the end of the fifth century, the author of which sought in the past for imaginary analogies to his political ideals. On many points of history Aristotle came to a decision by drawing inferences from the circumstances of his own age. Besides the above-mentioned authors, consideration is due to *Plutarch's* biography of Solon, in which *Hermippos*, a scholar of the Alexandrine period, is

chiefly drawn upon. *Plutarchos* of Chaironeia was a moral philosopher who wrote in the early Imperial Age; in composing his biographies he did not pursue strictly historical ends, and moreover he wrote without historical criticism.

Early History.—Manifold traces in traditional history and later institutions indicate that Attica grew into a whole from several parts, and probably not without struggles. Legend conceived this union as effected by a single measure, the *Synoikismos* of the national hero *Theseus*; in reality the work of forming a united state was not consummated until much later—probably not earlier than the seventh century.

The transition from royalty to aristocracy was effected by placing by the side of the kings of the *Medontid* family first a *Polemarchos* or 'general' and then an *Archon* or 'magistrate,' and by cutting down their lifelong tenure of office first to ten years and then to one year; at the time of the last change there were created six *Thesmothetai* or 'law-makers,' shortly after the kingship had been thrown open to all nobles. This is the origin of the board of the *Nine Archons*, who held the administration and part of the jurisdiction in their hands. The centre of the State was represented by the aristocratic 'Council from Ares' Hill' or *Areiopagos*, which held the jurisdiction for bloodshed and supervised the administration and execution of the laws.

The people were divided into *Phylai*, these into *Phratriai*, and these again into 'Families' (*Genē*); at the same time it was separated into three orders, *Eupatridai* (nobles), *Geōmoroi* or *Agroikoi* (peasants), and *Dēmiurgoi* (artisans). For purposes of defence the country was separated into forty-eight districts or *Naukrāriai*. The nobles alone were possessed of full rights and eligible for office. The economic condition was the same as elsewhere in Greece; a part of the peasantry had become tenants of the great landowners and paid as rent to them one-sixth of their crops (*Hektēmoroi*), while even the independent farmer was often forced to seek salvation in borrowing on mortgage, and both classes were alike liable to the age's harsh law of debt.

Kylon and Drakon.—Kylon, a young noble, made use of the prevailing discontent for an attempt to acquire for himself a tyrannis (636 or 632). He failed. He himself escaped; but his comrades were put to death, contrary to the promise given by the Archon *Megakles*, of the *Alkmeonid* family. This bloody deed unloosened all the fury of faction, which only calmed down when the Alkmeonids were condemned to everlasting banishment. After this the Cretan *Epimenides*, a legendary personality, is said to have purified the country from the stain of blood.

The registration of the law was undertaken by *Drakon* (621); the constitutional change reported by Aristotle, by

which Drakon extended political rights to all bearing arms, is open to doubt. The economic distress was not relieved.

In the last decade of the seventh century Athens occupied *Sigeion* at the entrance of the Hellespontos, which led to a protracted war with Mytilene. On the other hand the growth of Athenian commerce was straitened by the two neighbouring powers of Aigina and Megara. The efforts of Athens to gain the island of Salamis, a possession of the latter, were at first fruitless; at last, spurred on by the verses of an aristocrat, *Solon*, they conquered the island. In the struggles of party Solon also took a share by publishing poems in which he attacked the ruling class. At length the parties combined to elect him Archon with unlimited powers to remodel the constitution.

Solon's Constitution.—The work of Solon was a radical one. First he ordered that all debts on the security of real estate be cancelled without exception, that enslavement for debt be abolished, and that no more loans be contracted on the security of the person. This is the *Seisachtheia* or 'shaking off of debt.' Other measures aimed at raising commerce and industry; a reformation of the system of weights and measures, a reduction of the standard of the coinage, and the adoption of the lighter Euboic standard in place of that of Aigina led to a junction with the commercial sphere of Corinth. Then he extended political rights and obligations to all without distinction; whether the Hektemoroi and the wage-earning artisans received a share in them is open to question. The burghers were classed according to their possession of landed property in four degrees—the *Pentakosiomedimnoi*, who annually gathered in at least 500 dry and liquid measures, the *Hippēs* or 'Knights' with 300 measures, the *Zeugitai* with 200 measures, and the *Thētes* with less than 200. To the first three classes, who served as heavy-armed infantry or horsemen, was given the right of holding magistracies; the most important offices were reserved for the highest class; but the Thetes too had the right of sharing in the voting and elections at the Assembly of the Commons. Great results ensued from the creation of the *Dikastēria* or Jury-Courts, to which appeal might be made from the verdicts of magistrates. The centre of gravity of government still lay in the Council of Four Hundred founded by Solon and the Council of Ares' Hill.

The Sacred War.—Solon concluded his work with a general amnesty, and then went abroad. For the moment he gave satisfaction to no one, and the struggles of faction went on. Meanwhile Athens became entangled in a panhellenic military enterprise. Ages ago there had been formed among the

races of Central Greece an *Amphiktyonia*, a religious league with its seat in the temple of Demeter at Thermopylai, where were held its yearly meetings. On the other hand the Oracle of Apollon at *Delphoi* had long ago risen to esteem, and in the seventh century was everywhere recognised as a national sanctuary. In recent times the inhabitants of the Phokian city of *Krisa*, it was alleged, had permitted encroachments upon this sanctuary. On the complaint of the Delphians the Amphiktyons decided on war, under the lead of the Thessalians; Athens and Kleisthenes of Sekyon furnished them with support. This 'Sacred War' is said to have lasted for ten years. In 590 Krisa was taken and destroyed. The Amphiktyonia undertook to protect Delphoi; as a memorial the Pythian Games were founded and for the first time celebrated in 582.

Peisistratos and his Sons.—In Athens there gradually grew up three parties, one for each of the divisions of the country —to wit, the *Pediaioi* or inhabitants of the Plain, oligarchic in sentiment, the *Paraloi* or men of the Coast, inclining towards moderate progress, and the radical *Diakrioi*, the people of the highlands in the North-East, whose leader was *Peisistratos*, a talented man of profound cunning. He succeeded in winning popular favour through his services in the recently renewed war for Salamis. The commons granted him a bodyguard to protect him against his opponents, and with its aid he made himself Tyrant in 561/60. The parties combined against him; but he was able to divide them, and though twice driven out always came back. From 541/40 he reigned without interruption until his death.

Peisistratos was a humane ruler, and thoroughly alive to intellectual interests. He favoured the peasant order with his preference; in order to secure for it cheap and speedy legal procedure he established village-justices. He effected the emancipation of the *Hektemoroi*, parcelling out among them the now unowned estates of the banished nobles. The worship of the peasants' favourite god *Dionysos* was raised to the rank of a state cult; the Dionysia were founded, and

an impulse was thus given to the birth of the Drama. In the city arose magnificent buildings, such as the *Hekatompedon* or older temple of Athena on the citadel, the sanctuary of Dionysos, and the great temple in Eleusis. The temple of Olympian Zeus however remained unfinished. As Attic art reached its first prime under Peisistratos, so Athens was raised by him to the rank of a Great Power. He formed connexions abroad, for example with Argos, Boiotia, Thessaly, Euboia, and Naxos; he gained a footing in Thrace and maintained Sigeion.

After the death of Peisistratos (527) his sons *Hipparchos* and *Hippias* continued to reign in his spirit. An intrigue of Hipparchos with a young noble, *Harmodios*, led to a conspiracy, to which Hipparchos fell a victim (514); after this the government became one of intolerable harshness. Moved by the constant promptings of the Delphian Oracle, which had been won over by the Alkmeonids, who headed the opposition to the Peisistratids, the Spartans decided to drive out Hippias. Their first enterprise failed; but a second expedition, led by King *Kleomenes* himself, succeeded in cooping up the tyrant in the citadel, and he then capitulated upon a promise to let him withdraw unmolested (511/10). Hippias fell back into Sigeion; he and his family were put under a ban in Athens. With the restoration of the free constitution the old feuds broke out afresh, and for three years the aristocrats under *Isagoras* and the democrats under the Alkmeonid *Kleisthenes* were at strife together. The Spartan king Kleomenes' plan of setting up an aristocratic government in Athens failed. The result of the popular party's victory was a radical reformation of Athens by *Kleisthenes*, by which democracy was planted on a sure basis (508/7).

It was probably through Kleisthenes that the former *Hektemoroi* first received the rights of full burgesses; in addition he added to the ranks of the burgesses a large number of strangers residing in Athens. The burgess-body underwent a new classification. The smallest units in the country were now to be the parishes or *Demoi*; those persons who at the time of the reformation were living together in one parish remained

with their descendants its members for all time. The place of the old tribal stocks was taken by a division into ten Districts with the traditional name of 'Tribes,' *Phylai*, which embraced a number of parishes, and thus were local groups. In order however to avoid the dangers of a purely local system of division, the new districts were not allowed to be continuous; one-third of each district was made up of parishes from the city, another third of parishes on the coast, and another of parishes in the interior. To the new Districts were transferred the political rights of the old Tribes, and according to them were divided the Council, now raised to 500 members, and the boards of magistrates.

To Kleisthenes is ascribed the introduction of the *Ostracism* (*Exostrakismos*, 'Potsherd-Court'), by which a particular citizen might be banished from the land for ten years; he remained however in possession of his property, and his political rights were restored after his return. The institution was aimed against those supporters of the tyrants who remained at home.

SECTION II

THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF GREECE IN ITS PRIME

CHAPTER IV

The Greeks at War for their Independence

Sources.—The chief source is *Herodotos*, an Ionian noble of Halikarnassos, born in the first half of the fifth century, who settled in Athens and there entered the Periklean circle. He took part in the colonisation of Thurioi, and as a preparation for his work made extensive journeys to Greece and the East, which brought him to Egypt and Persia. The plot of his work is the conflict between Hellas and the Orient. He begins with the subjection of Hellenic Asia Minor by the Lydians, and stops, though without making a conclusion, at the siege of Sestos by the Greeks in the autumn of 479 B.C.; frequently however he reverts to earlier history. His sources were by preference narratives by word of mouth; but in addition he drew upon his predecessors, especially the logographer *Hekataios*. He lays chief stress upon the influences of personality and the interference of the gods. For § 14 especial reference should be made to his Book I., for Polykrates to III. 39 ff., 120 ff.; for Dareios' Scythian expedition to Books IV. and V. (at the beginning). The history of the Ionian Revolt is related in V. 23 ff. and VI. 1–33, the expedition of Mardonios in VI.

43 ff.; the undertaking of Datis and Artaphernes is told in VI. 94 ff.; Books VII. to IX. embrace the expedition of Xerxes.

For the battle of Salamis the most important work is the 'Persians' of Aischylos (472 B.C.), who himself took a part in that fight. Herodotos and Aischylos are supplemented by the narrative of *Ephoros*, preserved in Diodoros, Bks. IX., X., and (for the expedition of Xerxes) XI.; this gives a revised version of Herodotos without material additions. Lastly are to be included here the biographies of Themistokles and Aristeides by *Plutarch* and *Cornelius Nepos*, which are derived from various sources.

§ 14. Persia and the Greeks of Asia Minor

While the Lydian State had been rising, there had grown up in the Far East, in Iran, a new power, the *Kingdom of the Medes*, which was likewise intent upon advancing its frontiers. Its king *Kyaxares* in 606 crushed the empire and nation of Assyria and thereby obtained possession of Armenia and Kappadokia, thus becoming a neighbour of Lydia. A war between Media and Lydia lasted on for five years without being decided; when once again they were on the verge of battle an eclipse of the sun occurred (May 28, 585) which moved the adversaries to make peace. The river Halys was fixed as the boundary of the two empires, and a family alliance between the royal houses cemented the compact. Thus secured on their rear, the Lydian kings could complete the conquest of the coasts.

A sweeping change was brought about by the sudden fall of the Median Empire, the place of which was taken by the nation of the *Persians*. In the year 550 *Kyros*, of the house of the *Achaimenidai*, took the Median king *Astyages* prisoner. The other Powers felt themselves menaced by this revolution; Kroisos of Lydia, Babylon, and Egypt leagued themselves together into a confederacy, in which the Spartans took part. Encouraged by the Delphian Oracle, Kroisos began the war by crossing the Halys in the spring of 546; but he was defeated, his capital Sardes taken, and himself made prisoner. The Lydian Empire was now a thing of the past.

The Greeks of Asia Minor at first sought to make easy

terms for themselves with Kyros; but he rejected their overtures. While however he was turning against Babylon a revolt broke out in Lydia, which was supported by some Greek cities. The royal generals thereupon reduced the whole of Ionia to subjection; the kindred islanders too surrendered of their own accord. In the Persian king the Greeks had got a harder master; even under Kyros, and most of all after the accession of Dareios, tyrants were set in command of the cities. The services which the Greeks were obliged to render to the empire consisted in taxes and military support.

A few years afterwards however an attempt was made in the neighbouring islands to found an independent Greek realm. In *Samos* three brothers took the government into their own hands; the most vigorous of them, *Polykrates*, soon became sole tyrant. How greatly he was favoured by fortune is well known from legend. With his navy he reduced some of the islands and of the cities on the coast, his object being the lordship of the Aigaian Sea. While the Persians had for years to devote their attention to the eastern part of their realm, Polykrates sought support from the king of Egypt, *Amasis*. At home he ruled in true tyrant fashion. A number of mighty buildings owed to him their origin. At his court he displayed great magnificence; the lyric poet *Anakreon* of Teos belonged to his circle. Polykrates came to his death before 522 B.C. at the hands of the Persian governor of Sardes. In 516 Samos was conquered by the Persians.

It was under the rule of Persia that the intellectual life of the Asiatic Greeks came to its fullest prime. For the middle and the latter half of the sixth century *Anaximenes* of Miletos and *Herakleitos* of Ephesos deserve mention as the most eminent representatives of philosophical speculation. To the same age belongs the historian *Hekataios* of Miletos.

§ 15. The Enterprises of Dareios

The Great Powers of the Orient were one after the other crushed by Persia. The fall of the Lydian Empire was followed by the capture of Babylon by Kyros (539) and

the conquest of Egypt by his son Kambyses (525). The change of dynasty after the death of Kambyses (522) brought with it a brief calm, as *Dareios* had first to set in order the dislocated empire. As soon as this had been done he continued his predecessors' policy of conquest.

The Scythian Expedition.—First Dareios embarked on an expedition against the nomad Scythians dwelling in Southern Russia (about 514 B.C.). During his march from Hellespontos to the Istros he reduced to submission the Getai of Thrace. He then crossed the Istros on ships furnished by the Ionians, Aiolians, and Hellespontines; the Ionians were entrusted with the guardianship of the bridge. After two months Dareios returned to the Istros. In his absence the Ionians are said to have formed the design of breaking down the bridge, and this plan was urged by the Athenian Miltiades, lord of the Thracian Chersonnesos; but *Histiaios*, the tyrant of Miletos, induced them to reject the proposal. Whilst the king was returning to Asia, a corps suppressed the revolt that had broken out in the Hellespontine cities and reduced Thrace; Macedon too seems to have come at this time under the suzerainty of Persia. Lemnos and Imbros were reduced somewhat later.

The Ionian Revolt.—The impulse to the collision between Greece and the East was given by a revolt of the cities of Asia Minor. Histiaios, now summoned to the Persian court, had been succeeded in the *tyrannis* of Miletos by his son-in-law *Aristagoras*, whose position was severely shaken by the failure of a naval expedition against Naxos to which he had instigated the Persians. In order to anticipate his removal from office he determined to stir up the Ionians to revolt. In a short time the Greek coasts were lost to the Persians. Aristagoras went to the home-country to enlist allies; but only Athens and Eretria sent a few ships. The Ionians in the summer of 498 burned down the capital of the Persian satrapy, *Sardes*; their navy succeeded in exciting the Hellespontine and Aiolian cities to rebellion, and Karia and Cyprus likewise joined them.

At length the Persians rallied for an energetic defence. Cyprus was recovered and the revolt on the Hellespontos and in Aiolis crushed, and they now turned against the Ionian cities. Aristagoras withdrew into Thrace and there soon perished; Histiaios, who appeared in his stead, was nowhere received with confidence. The decisive blow was struck in 497 near Miletos, where the navies of the opponents had gathered together; near the island of *Lade* was fought a battle in which the Ionians were worsted. Miletos however was only stormed after a siege of some years, probably in 494; it was then set on fire. Karia was next reduced. In the year following the navy conquered the islands and the towns on the Hellespontos, the army the cities of continental Ionia. The latter were sacked and burned down with their temples; only Samos was spared.

The Expedition of Mardonios.—It was intended that the subjugation of Ionia should have as its sequel the conquest of Greece, and that Athens and Eretria should be punished for the help given by them to the Ionians. The Greeks in the meanwhile were heedlessly embroiling themselves in local feuds. The Spartan king *Kleomenes*, an energetic and strong-handed man, assailed *Argos*, but with no permanent success. In Athens *Themistokles* rose to the archonship (493); under him was begun the fortification of the Peiraieus. About the same time *Miltiades* left the Chersonnesos and took up his abode in his native city. Dareios' son-in-law *Mardonios*, an ambitious young man, was chosen to subdue Greece. In the spring of 492, with a great fighting force by land and by sea, he took his way from Ionia to the Hellespontos and thence along the Thracian coast. When the fleet however sought to sail round Athos it was destroyed by a storm; but the Persian power in Thrace and Macedon was still maintained. The disaster they had suffered did not deter the Persians. In the very next year Dareios sent messengers to Greece with a demand for an offering of earth and water as a token of subjection; at the same time orders were given to prepare for the coming campaign.

The Persian envoys were met in many Greek States with compliance; only in Athens and Sparta were they greeted with a determined refusal. *Aigina* also having submitted to the Persians, Athens, always its foe, seized the opportunity and turned towards Sparta with the prayer that it would punish Aigina for its treachery to the cause of Greece. The measures taken by Kleomenes were brought to a stop by the intrigues of the second king *Demaratos*, and the latter was thereupon deposed at the instigation of Kleomenes, his place being taken by *Leotychidas*. Kleomenes was forced soon after to leave Sparta when the means by which he had rid himself of Demaratos became known; as he was plotting to return by force of arms he was voluntarily recalled. Shortly afterwards he died a violent death.

The Expedition of Datis and Artaphernes.—In the meantime the Persian preparations had been completed. At the head of the army and the navy were set *Datis* and *Artaphernes*; at their headquarters was Hippias. In this force the Persians' chief arm, cavalry, was especially strongly represented. The fleet took a course across the Aigaian Sea towards Euboia; the islands of the Archipelago were reduced, Karystos and Eretria captured. The Persians then sailed to Attica and landed upon the plain of *Marathon* in the east, which appeared to be well suited for the employment of their cavalry.

As the Spartans from religious scruples delayed in joining them, the Athenians received support only from the men of Plataiai; including these, their force is said to have numbered 10,000 men. The Athenians now marched out and posted themselves at Marathon. The command was held by the board of the ten *Stratēgoi*; the most important of these, owing to his genius for generalship and his thorough acquaintance with Persian methods of warfare, was *Miltiades*. At his instance it was decided in a council of war to strike the first blow. The tale of how things went before and during the battle has been much obscured by legend; the fight seems to have been chiefly decided by the rapid assault of the Athenians. As soon as they came to close quarters

the Persians were at a disadvantage against the heavily armed Greeks, and their cavalry was no longer able to charge without imperilling the lives of their own men. The Persians however succeeded in embarking; they took their course round Sunion towards Athens, probably with the design of making their defeat seem slighter. The Attic army returned by a forced march to the city; but the enemy merely showed themselves at the harbour of Phaleron, and then sailed off to Asia (August or September 490).

§ 16. The Expedition of Xerxes

This defeat only spurred Dareios on to greater efforts. For three years the outfitting of troops and ships continued; but in the third year (486) it met with an unexpected interruption through the revolt of Egypt. Whilst making preparations to suppress this Dareios died (485). He was followed by his son *Xerxes*, who established once more the rule of Persia in Egypt (484). He seems to have shown at first little inclination to take up the war against the Greeks, and to have been moved to it only by Mardonios and the Peisistratids. In the new expedition the land force was to make its way through Thrace and Macedon, the fleet to sail along the coast; to secure the latter against any mishap a canal was cut through the isthmos of Athos. A bridge of ships was thrown over the Hellespontos.

The Condition of Greece.—Athens soon lost the hero of Marathon. *Miltiades* undertook an expedition against the islands, which failed. He was impeached by *Xanthippos* and condemned to a heavy fine; soon afterwards he died of a wound received in his adventure. New men rose up, *Themistokles* and *Aristeides*, both nobles and both democratic in sentiment, but of radically different character; Themistokles was inventive even to the point of recklessness, unscrupulous in the choice of his means, Proteus-like in the versatility of his intellect, and of amazing cunning, while Aristeides was thoroughly moderate and at the same time thoroughly reso-

lute and entirely proof against the influence of gold. The ensuing years in Athens were taken up with vehement inner struggles, and the Ostracism was repeatedly used; there must still have been a party adhering to the Peisistratids. A step was taken to soften the bitterness of party-feuds by reforming the archonship, the holders of which were henceforth appointed by lot (487/6).

To the same year perhaps belongs the war against *Aigina* in this the Athenians met with a decided defeat, which more than anything else suggested the necessity of creating a great navy. This was the plan of Themistokles, and was probably opposed by Aristeides; the latter too was ostracised (483/2), and thus the way was clear for the reform. On the proposal of Themistokles 100 triremes were built with the surplus money drawn by the State from the silver-mines of Laurion; thus was laid the foundation of Athens' naval power.

The Second Persian War.—The preparations of Persia were completed in 481. At about the same time deputies from the more patriotic Greek states, of which the most important were Sparta, Athens, and Corinth, met on the Isthmos and bound themselves by oath to a defensive alliance against the Persians, in which the lead fell to Sparta. Envoys were sent forth to win over Argos, Korkyra, and Gelon of Syracuse; but they returned home without success. Xerxes also despatched ambassadors to Greece, to demand the tokens of submission; the Thessalians and Boiotians gave them, and even the Delphian Oracle sought to dissuade from resistance.

In the spring of 480 Xerxes set out from Sardes to cross the Hellespontos. The strength of his forces amounted at least to some hundreds of thousands; the number of the ships, 1207, is well attested. While he was making ready to come over into Europe the Thessalians, regretting their treason to the cause of Greece, turned to the Hellenic Confederacy with the request that it would occupy the pass of *Tempe*. An army was despatched thither, but after a few

days it turned back, as its position here could be turned. The confederates now determined to occupy a defensive point further back, the pass of *Thermopylai*, while the fleet took up its post on the northern cape of Euboia by the Artemision. A corps was sent out under *Leonidas*, of which the bulk (4000 men) were Peloponnesians. Meanwhile Xerxes had made his way through Thrace and Thessaly and was advancing against Central Greece; the fleet sailed as far as the peninsula of Magnesia, where a furious storm fell upon it. Xerxes succeeded in capturing Thermopylai only after he had turned the Greeks' position by a mountain-path; Leonidas and his men fell in a heroic struggle. In the meantime a battle was also fought between the two navies at *Artemision*, but without decisive result; at the news of the disaster to the land-force the Greeks sailed off to the Saronic Gulf (August 480).

After capturing Thermopylai Xerxes advanced with the bulk of his army into *Boiotia*, which submitted to him. The Athenians had hopes that the Peloponnesians would march against the enemy. They however were at work fortifying the Isthmos; all that was vouchsafed to the Athenians was a concentration of the Greek fleet at Salamis. Attica had to be evacuated by its whole population; the treasurers of the goddess Athena alone entrenched themselves upon the Akropolis. It was only after some length of time that they were overpowered; the temple on the citadel was set on fire.

The Persian fleet had sailed round Euboia and Sunion, and now lay off Phaleron; it consisted of some six or seven hundred ships, while the Greeks had altogether 378 triremes. Themistokles managed to persuade the irresolute generals to wait; moreover the Persian fleet had by night surrounded the Greeks. So a battle was fought by *Salamis*, probably on the 28th September 480, in which the Persians were at a disadvantage through being straitened in their movements inside the narrow bay between the island and the mainland, and could not make use of their superior numbers. The

battle ended towards evening with the complete victory of the Greeks.

Xerxes ordered his fleet to sail away in the direction of the Hellespontos, while he himself began the retreat with the land force; Mardonios had orders to stay behind with an army to carry on the war. Finding the bridges broken down by a storm, Xerxes crossed the Hellespontos on shipboard. As soon as the Greeks learned of the Persians' departure they set out in pursuit; but Themistokles' proposal to cut the enemy's line of retreat by destroying the bridges was rejected, and the fleet was soon disbanded.

The citizen-body of Attica seems to have been no longer in sympathy with Themistokles' far-reaching schemes. In the election of generals held in the spring of 479 he was passed over; as generals of this year appear *Xanthippos* and the now recalled *Aristeides*. The Persian fleet took up its position at Samos, while the Greek navy assembled at Aigina; the commander of the latter was the Spartan king *Leotychidas*, the Attic ships being led by Xanthippos. Envoys of the Ionians called upon them to free them. The Greeks sailed out, but did not venture beyond Delos. Mardonios meanwhile made overtures from Thessaly, where he had wintered, to win over the Athenians to the Persian cause. On their rejection of his proposals he took the field, and the Athenians were forced for the second time to abandon their native town. At length the Spartans sent out their army under *Pausanias*, the guardian of the young king Pleistoanax, who was under age. Mardonios now fell back upon Boiotia after having set Athens on fire, and encamped on the banks of the Asopos. After the Spartans had combined with the other Peloponnesian troops and the Athenians, the whole fighting force of some thirty or forty thousand heavily armed men marched upon Boiotia and encamped first by Mount Kithairon and soon after in the plain of *Plataiai*. As to the movements before the battle and as to the fight itself (early in August 479) a clear idea cannot be gained; but here also the equipment of the

Orientals proved too weak to resist the Greek hoplites. Mardonios fell, and his death was the signal for the Persians' flight; their camp was stormed and a rich booty gathered. Out of the tithes given to the gods was made a tripod dedicated to Apollon, which is still to be found in Constantinople. The next step was to punish Thebes, the chief seat of the Greek partisans of Persia.

About the same time a crushing blow was dealt by sea. The Greek fleet at last sailed upon Samos. At the news of this the Persians withdrew to the promontory of *Mykale* and beached their ships. The battle that then ensued was decided by the Ionians passing over to the Greeks.

After this victory discord arose among the Greeks as to the liberation of *Ionia*. They finally agreed to admit the natives of the islands, especially Samos, Chios, and Lesbos, into the Hellenic Confederacy. The mainland of Asia Minor was for the present excluded; its cities formed an alliance with Athens. The fleet then sailed upon the Hellespontos with the design of breaking down the bridges.

§ 17. The Conflicts of the Hellenes of the West

Sources.—As to the Hellenes of the West, much is to be found in *Herodotos*, *e.g.* I. 163 ff. on the Phokaians, VII. 154 ff. on the Sicilian tyrants. For Kroton and Sybaris compare Diodoros, XI. 90, XII. 9, 10. Reference should be made chiefly to *Diodoros* (on the Carthaginian War, XI. 20 ff.), who confessedly drew on *Timaios*.

At the end of the seventh or the beginning of the sixth century there grew up in the north of Africa a new power, *Carthage*, which soon set limits to the further expansion of the Hellenic world. In Sicily it had supporters in the kindred Phoenician cities; tradition connects the acquisition of the province of Carthage on the western extremity of the island with the name of the general *Malchos*. The reduction of *Sardinia* was accomplished only after repeated campaigns. Besides Carthage the *Etruscans*, who were extending their dominion southwards, had also an interest in debarring the

Greeks from further progress. The two Powers entered into an alliance, which found occasion to act when the inhabitants of *Phokaia* abandoned their native city after the Persian conquest and sailed to *Corsica*, where they carried on piracy. The Phokaians were indeed victorious over the confederate Carthaginians and Etruscans in a sea-fight, but were forced to give up Corsica.

In the communities of *Lower Italy*, where the constitution was aristocratic, there arose various internal feuds, and also mutual conflicts between the cities. Chief in importance was the war between *Kroton* and *Sybaris*. The restoration of Kroton from decay was the work of the philosopher *Pythagoras*. The life of this interesting character, whose activity falls within the second half of the sixth century, is quite obscured by an overgrowth of legend. He was of Samian origin, and did not come to Lower Italy until somewhat mature in years. We cannot here discuss the content of his doctrines, which comprised much that is remarkable, such as the transmigration of souls, the significance of numbers in the construction of the universe, the prohibition of flesh-eating, &c. His influence upon the life and political condition of Kroton was powerful. He brought together his adherents in a secret society, which had members also in the other Greek cities of Lower Italy. Inspired by the Pythagoreans, Kroton made it its glory to practise gymnastics; in Sybaris on the other hand luxury was carried to the pitch of most refined voluptuousness. The collision between the two cities took place in the midst of Pythagoras' activity. Despite their superior power the Sybarites were defeated; their city was captured and destroyed (511). Not long afterwards there seems to have grown up an opposition to Pythagoras in Kroton, which induced him to remove his abode to Metapontion.

Between the end of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth century the tyrant-empires in *Sicily* attained to great importance, even in international relations. In *Gela* rose up *Kleandros*, who was followed by his brother *Hippokrates*; in *Rhegion* the government was seized by *Anaxilas*.

After the death of Hippokrates the inhabitants of Gela sought to recover their freedom; but the cavalry-general *Gelon*, son of Deinomenes, crushed the rising and himself seized upon the throne (491). With true insight he perceived the need of making himself master of the city of *Syracuse* if he would win the leadership of the whole of Sicily

In this town the nobility had been driven out by the Demos in concert with the serfs; Gelon brought back the former, and the Demos likewise submitted to him (485). The tyrant removed his seat to Syracuse, and did all in his power to raise the town to a state of vigorous prosperity. The manner in which he sought to increase the population by transplantations recalls the measures of Oriental despots. To secure his dominion Gelon strengthened his army and called into being a strong navy; he then sought support among the other island powers and formed family connexions with *Theron*, the tyrant of *Akragas*.

Now Carthage interfered. The tradition that it was summoned to action against the Greeks of the West by the Persian king at the moment when he was purposing an assault upon Greece is quite credible. For some length of time Carthage made most careful preparations for the enterprise. The immediate occasion for the attack was furnished by quarrels between the Sicilian tyrants. War broke out in the summer of 480. The command over the Carthaginian host was held by *Hamilkar*. He crossed over to Panormos and marched thence upon *Himera*. At the news of this Gelon advanced to its relief. As to the battle we have not sufficient information; it lasted for more than a whole day, and when Hamilkar saw his men turning to flight he hurled himself into the sacrificial fire, in order to move the gods to change their will.

The Carthaginians now hastened to conclude peace. The conditions imposed upon them by Gelon were moderate, consisting chiefly in an indemnity for the costs of the war; they remained in possession of their province. The Sicilian confederates of Carthage, Anaxilas the tyrant of Rhegion and the city of Selinus, were also treated with gentleness. Gelon did not long survive his triumph; in 478 he died, and was conducted to his grave by the whole people.

CHAPTER V

The History of the Pentekontaetia

THE term *Pentekontaetia* is used to designate the period from 479 to the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, which comprised roughly fifty years. To this epoch belong the final repulse of the Persian foe and the liberation of Asia Minor, the strivings of the two chief powers, Sparta and Athens, to win the leadership over the whole eastern Hellenic world, the formation of an Attic empire, and lastly a marvellous rise of poetry and plastic art.

Sources.—No detailed account of this period has come down to us; a substitute of sorts is furnished by the brief sketch in *Thukydides* (I. 89–118), who also deals with the latter end of Pausanias and Themistokles (I. 128 138).

The narrative of *Diodoros* (Books XI. and XII. to ch. 37) is fuller. Diodoros drew on *Ephoros*, who treated the history of this age, for which he made an all but exclusive use of Thukydides, from the rhetorical standpoint and in a spirit of sympathy with Athens. The chronology of the period, with the exception of a few fixed points, is entirely relative, for Thukydides does not date events by civil years and the arrangement in Diodoros is quite arbitrary; we owe some important dates in the constitutional history of Athens to *Aristotle's* 'Constitution of the Athenians.'

In *Plutarch's* 'Kimon' are preserved fragments from *Theopompos* of Chios, the second pupil of Isokrates in the domain of history, who was born about 381 and composed two works on the history of the years 411–394 and on the age of Philip of Macedon; in the latter he reverted to the history of Athens in the fifth century. He was a furious enemy of Athens; like Ephoros, he was under the influence of the rhetorical school.

§ 18. CONQUESTS OF THE GREEKS

When the Greeks saw that the bridges over the Hellespontos were already broken down, the Peloponnesians at once sailed home. The Athenians in concert with their new allies besieged *Sestos*, which surrendered in the spring of 478, whereupon they too returned home. As soon as the enemy had been driven out of the country by the battle of Plataiai the Athenians set themselves to rebuild their city and its walls.

Their plan was to turn Athens into a strong fortress. This design met with resistance from the Spartans and their confederates; but from the embarrassments into which Athens was thus brought it was extricated by the guileful skill of Themistokles. Chief attention was given to the fortification of the harbour; the whole peninsula of Peiraieus, as is proved by the considerable ruins that still survive, was surrounded by walls along the coast-line and on the land side; the three harbours could be closed, and contained the docks. The conclusion of this labour by the Long Walls, which joined the capital to the port, was the work of a later age (§ 19) In order to regularly strengthen the navy, Themistokles carried through a law under which twenty ships were built every year.

Rise of the Attic Naval League.—In the summer of 478 Pausanias was sent out in command of a confederate fleet. First he reduced *Cyprus*, and thence he sailed to the Bosporos. The capture of *Byzantion* secured the connexion between Greece and the Black Sea, which was of importance for the supply of grain. During the stay of the Greek fleet here a weighty change was made in the Hellenic confederation. Pausanias is said to have now entered into treasonable relations with the Persian king; he certainly behaved towards the allies in a haughty and tyrant-like fashion. The Ionians and Hellespontines refused to remain any longer under his leadership and turned to the Athenians, requesting them to undertake the command of the war against Persia; and to this the Athenians most willingly assented. Thus was founded the *Naval Confederacy of Delos* (478/7). After this the Peloponnesians retired from the war by sea; but the alliance between them and the Athenians was not cancelled.

The *Naval Confederacy* thus founded by Athens is the most important political creation of the fifth century; the chief merit in bringing it into being was due to *Aristeides*, who was in command of the Attic ships before Byzantion. He shaped it into definite form in concluding the treaties between Athens and the cities. The self-government of the several members was preserved; deliberation on common business was entrusted to a Synod of deputies which had its seat in Delos. The

duties of the Allies consisted either in furnishing ships of war or, in lieu thereof, in payment of a federal tribute, the *Phoros*. The funds made up from the revenues of the confederacy were treasured at Delos under the protection of Apollon; the administration of them was in the hands of a newly formed Attic board of *Hellēnotamiai*. The first federal tribute amounted to 460 talents; the assessment and apportionment of it over the Allies was entrusted to Aristeides. The league in the first years of its existence embraced, generally speaking, Euboia, the Ionian Kyklades, Lesbos, Chios, Samos, and the Ionian and Aiolic cities of Asia Minor as far as the Hellespontos and Propontis. Among its original arrangements is to be reckoned the division into *Quarters*, which in the first instance served for the levying of the *phoros*; the oldest sphere of the league was divided into three Quarters, those of *Ionia*, the *Hellespontos*, and the *Islands*.

Beside Aristeides, Miltiades' son *Rimon* was also at this time a leading statesman. He was no great politician; the prosecution of the war against Persia and a friendly alliance with Sparta made up his programme, to which his essentially military endowments corresponded. His popularity was founded upon the aristocratic affability of his demeanour, his generosity, and his manifold contributions to objects of general utility. He remained for nearly fifteen years the highest in repute of the Athenians' generals. His first important deed of arms was aimed at driving out the Persian garrisons still lying in Europe, whose chief seat was *Eion* on the Strymon (476/5). The Athenians' attempt to secure their newly won domain by planting a colony failed. Instead the Greek cities on the Thracian and Macedonian coasts entered the league; they were comprised in the *Thracian Quarter*. Kimon earned yet another title to thanks by clearing the Aigaian Sea from the pirates who had their seat in the island of *Skyros*; the bones of the national hero Theseus which lay there were brought to Athens and buried (476/5).

In the same year, as it would seem, the Spartans undertook an expedition into *Thessaly* under the command of *Leotychidas*. The king allowed himself to be bribed, and beat a retreat; for this he was driven into banishment, in which he died in 469. He was followed by his grandson *Archidamos*. Soon *Pausanias* again came forward. He was recalled and

condemned to an inconsiderable fine; then he set himself up on an independent footing at Byzantion and Sestos, and there held his ground for a number of years. Seemingly there was a party in Sparta which countenanced his conduct in the expectation that the development of Athens would be checked by him. In *Peloponnesos* a democratic movement asserted itself which threatened to seriously weaken Sparta's position of leadership. It was perhaps now that *Argos* passed over to democracy. The current seized the neighbouring *Arkadia*, and in *Elis* too a democratic reform of the constitution took place (471).

The End of Pausanias and Themistokles.—The Athenians at length took measures against *Pausanias* (471 or 470). He was driven by Kimon from Sestos and Byzantion; but he remained in the Troad. When notice was given to the Ephors that he had formed relations with the Persians, they ordered him to return home. The call was obeyed. He succeeded in getting himself released from durance, and made use of his liberty to enlist a party among the Helots. When the Ephors heard of this they took steps to arrest him. Pausanias fled into a temple; he was there walled in, and died of hunger.

A like lot met *Themistokles*. Various causes—alike his want of scruple and his greed—worked together to bring about his fall; the Spartans moreover saw in him their most influential opponent in Athens. In 471, as it would seem, Themistokles was ejected from Athens by ostracism. He went to Argos, from which he paid visits to the other parts of Peloponnesos, and beyond doubt took a part in the movement directed against Sparta. An opportunity at last presented itself to impel Athens itself to measures against Themistokles; the letters found in the hands of Pausanias revealed, as it was averred, the complicity of Themistokles in the treasonable plots of the other, and the Spartans now impeached him to the Athenians. He was banned from the territory of the Hellenic Confederacy, and Athens and Sparta despatched men to seize him. But Themistokles was already

in flight; from Korkyra he came to Macedon and thence by ship to Asia Minor. In the Persian Empire a change of rulers had meanwhile taken place; Xerxes had been murdered in a palace-revolution and his son *Artaxerxes Makrocheir* raised to the throne (464). A year after, Themistokles presented himself at the Persian court. Artaxerxes made him tyrant over the cities of Magnesia on the Maiandros, Lampsakos, and Myus. He lived some years longer in Magnesia.

With Themistokles was removed the motive force that was capable of combining the Peloponnesians against Sparta. The position of the latter in Peloponnesos was re-established by its victory over the Arkadians at *Dipaia*. But it could not stop the expansion of Argos, which overthrew and destroyed Mykenai and Tiryns.

The war with Persia rested for nearly ten years. The Athenians seem to have spent this time chiefly in settling the arrangements of the League. Most of the cities before long chose to free themselves by payment of the federal tribute from the duty of furnishing ships; thus the power of Athens was strengthened and the weight of the Allies lessened. At the same time the Athenians took care that obligations should be fully observed; and this led to revolts of allied cities, which were crushed by force of arms and punished with the loss of their self-government. The first to be thus reduced to serfdom was *Naxos* (some little time before 467).

Prosecution of the Persian War.—After the fall of Themistokles and the death of Aristeides (soon after 470) Kimon was the only politician of weight in Athens. He deemed the hour had come to drive the Persians back from the southern coasts of Asia Minor. With 200 ships he sailed to Karia and Lykia and reduced both countries. The Persian army and fleet had taken up their position on the coast of Pamphylia, at the mouth of the river *Eurymedon*. Kimon first worsted the fleet; then he put to shore and inflicted a defeat on the army (probably in the autumn of 467).

This victory consummated the deliverance of the Greek

coasts. The Persians henceforth limited themselves to measures of defence. The Attic Naval Confederation was raised by the addition of these cities to its greatest compass; the towns of Lykia and Karia were made into the last (the *Karian*) Quarter of the League. Some Persian garrisons which had maintained themselves on the Thracian coast and the Thracian Chersonnesos were driven out in 465 by Kimon.

§ 19. The Struggle of Athens for the League by Land

The opposition between Sparta and Athens now reveals itself, and involves them in war. Both States aspire to leadership; for the present the result of the conflict is a delimitation of the opposed spheres of power.

The Third Messenian War and the Fall of the Council of Areiopagos in Athens.—The change in the organisation of the Attic Confederacy led to further revolts, and first to that of *Thasos* (465). The Athenians invested the city. At the same time a colonising expedition occupied the district of *Enneahodoi*, or 'Nine Ways,' on the Strymon; on advancing further inland they were cut to pieces by the Thracians. The Spartans promised to gain a respite for the Thasians by making an inroad into Attica; but they met with an unexpected hindrance. An earthquake in the summer of 464 desolated Sparta; the Helots profited by the general confusion and rose up. Their base was the mountain-fortress of *Ithome*. The Athenians however forced Thasos in 463 to surrender; it had to give up its mines on the mainland, and was made tributary. As the Spartans did not succeed in quickly suppressing the Helot rising, nothing remained for them but to turn to Athens for help.

Here Kimon on his return from Thasos had been impeached by the leaders of the democratic party which had grown up in the last few years, and which in its foreign

policy sought to break with Sparta and to extend the Attic Confederacy to the mainland, while at home it aimed at increasing the political rights of the lower classes and putting an end to the privileged position of the Council of Areiopagos. At its head stood *Ephialtes* and Xanthippos' son *Perikles*, who was inclined by his descent on the mother's side from the Alkmeonids towards democratic principles. Perikles was the accuser of Kimon, who however was acquitted. The democratic party protested most vigorously against supporting Sparta, but Kimon's influence carried the day; he was himself despatched with a corps into the Peloponnesos. When the Spartans' hopes of taking Ithome by storm with the aid of the Athenians were not fulfilled, they conceived a distrust of the latter and dismissed them.

The democratic party in the meantime had profited by Kimon's absence to radically reform the State. They directed their assaults against the political powers of the *Areiopagos*. The latter held the examination of magistrates before their entrance into office, overlooked their official conduct, received complaints of abuse of magisterial power and charges of high treason, and supervised the administration of finance. The conservatives were defeated, and the Areiopagos was stripped of these privileges, which passed over partly to the Council of Five Hundred and partly to the Popular Assembly and the Jury-Courts (462/1). Kimon's attempt after his return to revoke these reforms led to the ostracism being put into force against him, probably in the spring of 461. Soon afterwards Ephialtes was murdered.

In view of the wrong done to them the Athenians now declared their alliance with Sparta to be dissolved, and entered into a connexion with *Argos*, which was joined by *Thessaly*. At length the Helots on Ithome capitulated on the promise of unmolested withdrawal, and were settled at Naupaktos by the Athenians, who thus secured for themselves the control of the Gulf of Corinth. Soon after this Megara likewise turned to Athens (460); thus the way

into Peloponnesos was in the hands of the latter. But before a collision could take place Athens, which should now have kept its powers well in hand, involved itself in a foreign enterprise. After the accession of Artaxerxes *Egypt* had risen in revolt under the leadership of *Inaros*, and it now made a successful application to Athens for help. The allied Egyptians and Athenians gained command over the Nile and shut up the Persians in Memphis (459).

War of Sparta and Attica.—Directly after this hostilities were opened in Greece by the steps taken by Athens against *Corinth* and its allies. The latter were joined by *Aigina*. Athens however maintained the upper hand in the conflicts of the years 459 and 458.

A dispute between Phokis and Doris furnished the Spartans with an opportunity of interfering in the affairs of Central Greece by despatching an army thither. The Athenians by their fleet barred their line of retreat over the Gulf of Corinth; and when the Spartans tarried for a while in Boiotia and helped the Thebans to gain the leadership over the other Boiotian cities, Athens sent out an army, which at Tanagra suffered a decisive defeat in consequence of the Thessalian cavalry deserting to the enemy (457). Kimon, whose ostracism was revoked, succeeded in concluding an armistice for four months with Sparta, which enabled the Athenians to proceed against Boiotia. Two months after the battle of Tanagra was gained the victory of *Oinophyta* (457), which made Athens the head of a great league of continental States. Boiotia and Phokis were bound to a pledge of military service; the Lokrians likewise entered the confederacy, and Aigina surrendered perforce.

The situation after Oinophyta shews the Athenians at the zenith of their power in the fifth century. It was now possible for them to complete the building of the *Long Walls*; by these the two ports were joined to the city and the latter was made the greatest fortress in contemporary Greece. The Spartans had to submit to *Tolmides* sailing round the Peloponnesos and in his course burning

down the naval arsenal of Lakonia at *Gytheion* (probably in 455).

The failure of its Egyptian enterprise entailed a serious loss to Athens. The Persian general *Megabyzos* succeeded in shutting up the insurgents and the Athenians on the island of Prosopitis, which he captured in 454. But few Greeks escaped, and a fleet of reinforcements was destroyed. Egypt came once again under the dominion of Persia; only the Delta kept up its independence. The losses of the Athenians in men and ships were extraordinary. How much they felt themselves imperilled by the victory of Persia is shewn by the fact that the treasury of the League was in 454 removed from Delos to Athens. In order to confirm anew the latter's supremacy in Central Greece Perikles brought the Achaians into the confederacy by a cruise into the Gulf of Corinth.

The Last Expedition against the Persians.—The universal exhaustion led to a cease in the war during the three following years and in 450 to an armistice for five years. Immediately upon this *Kimon* undertook the last expedition against the Persians, in order to secure Cyprus. He posted himself with his fleet before Kition. While blockading it he died, and the Athenians were forced by lack of provisions to raise the siege. During their return they won at *Salamis* a brilliant double victory (449). But despite this success Cyprus did not abide in the possession of the Greeks. Soon after this enterprise an end must have been put to hostilities by an arrangement between Persia and the Attic League; this is what is wrongly called the *Kimonian Peace*, properly the *Peace of Kallias*. Doubts have been thrown even in antiquity on the existence of this compact; but as the actual documents of it are vouched for by a reliable witness, its reality is not to be questioned. By it a frontier was fixed which might not be overstepped on the one side by the navy of the Persians and on the other by the navy of Athens, and the independence of the Greek cities of Asia Minor was recognised.

Loss of Athens' Leadership by Land.—Despite the truce, quarrels in Greece between Delphoi and Phokis led to renewed hostilities. The Spartans forcibly interfered in this 'Sacred War' (448); but after they had marched away Perikles restored the former state of affairs in Delphoi. The movement which put an end to the domination of Athens over Central Greece started from Boiotia. Here the exiles were striving to stir up the country to revolt. Tolmides was sent out by Athens with troops; after an initial success he was surprised at *Koroneia* and with his force perished (447). Boiotia recovered its independence, and began a policy of hostility to Athens.

This defeat led to further disturbances. The parties hostile to Athens in the allied States combined in order to stir up a far-reaching revolt, for which the support of Sparta was gained. The signal for it was given by the defection of *Euboia* from the League (446). While Perikles was sailing over to this island, the news reached him that Megara had risen and overpowered the Attic garrison, while a Peloponnesian army under King *Pleistoanax* was coming on. Perikles for the moment left Euboia alone and turned against the Peloponnesians, who had already burst into the Eleusinian Plain. No battle was fought. The enemy's army marched back and disbanded; the general opinion attributed this to Perikles' bribery of the king and his adviser. Both the latter were punished; Pleistoanax went into banishment.

The rising in *Euboia* was soon crushed. The domain of Histiaia passed into the hands of Attic *Klērūchoi* (§ 20); the other cities were reduced to the position of vassals. After the subjection of Euboia, in the winter of 446/5, a *Thirty Years' Peace* was concluded between the Spartan League and Athens, which implied a final renunciation by the latter of its hopes of a continental League; it surrendered the territories still subject to it in Peloponnesos. The two Confederacies were mutually recognised in their present compass; cities that stood outside them were at liberty to join one or the other of the leagues.

§ 20. Development of the Attic Empire and Attic Democracy

Sources.—For the growth of the Attic empire the *inscriptions* are of chief authority, especially the lists of the tribute-quotas paid to Athens which begin with 454; they enable us to infer the position of the several members of the League and the changes therein. As to literary sources, those mentioned above (Thukydides gives a brief survey of the reorganisation of the League) are further supplemented by statements of *Aristotle* as to the progress of democracy and by the biography of Perikles by *Plutarch*, which contains valuable matter; among its sources special mention should be made of *Theopompos* and the collection of documents by the Macedonian *Krateros*.

After the death of Ephialtes *Perikles* stood at the head of the ruling democratic party. Sprung from the noble old race of the *Buzygai*, he had devoted himself from full conviction to the democratic movement; and he was likewise closely connected with the exponents of enlightenment. Perikles' power over the people was founded on his remarkable eloquence; his imperturbable calm and the dignity of his demeanour must likewise have impressed the lively Southerners. His disinterestedness gained for him a reputation like that of Aristeides. Thus he succeeded in attaining a position such as no man before him or after him ever won; 'in name Athens was a democracy, in reality it was under the rule of the leading man.'

The democratic reforms were continued after the death of Ephialtes. In 458/7 the archonship was thrown open to the Zeugitai; to the year 453/2 belongs the re-establishment of the Deme-Justices; and in 452/1 it was decided on the motion of Perikles that only such persons should share in the rights of burgesses as had Athenians on both sides for their parents.

The Forms of Attic Democracy.—In this period were matured the institutions typical of unrestricted Democracy. One of the most significant tokens of these is that every step taken in the State is decided upon by the *Assembly of the Commons*; the burgesses meet together four times in the month, every one has the right to express his opinion and to make a proposition, and the majority decides. The preliminary

discussion of proposals for this popular Assembly and the administration of current business were in the hands of the daily assembled *Council of Five Hundred*; this was divided into ten sections or *Prytaneiai*, each section holding the presidency for a corresponding division of the year. *Election by lot* was extended to almost all offices, and the period of office throughout limited to one year. A limit was set to the caprice of the lot by the rule that every elected magistrate before entrance into office should undergo an examination and might be rejected. Against abuse of office the community was protected by the fact that the official was at all times liable to removal, and after his year had run out was compelled to give an account of his administration. Characteristic likewise is the multiplicity of the branches of administration; by division and consequent restriction of their provinces the danger was obviated of any single office gaining disproportionate power. Hence too the several magistracies were never held by single representatives, but by boards (usually of ten) whose members acted in common and bore a common responsibility. Only the *Stratēgoi* or Generals occupied an exceptional position; they were chosen by vote, and their office might be held by them repeatedly without restriction. To the time before Perikles belongs the reform by which the *Jury-Courts* or *Hēliaiā* received direct jurisdiction. Every year 6000 burgesses were selected by lot as jurymen; they exercised their office in ten sections. Another important measure of this period is the arrangement of *State Payment*; it is said that there were then 20,000 persons at Athens in receipt of this. Apart from the standing military levies a large number of officials drew salaries, among them the Council and the Juries.

Conversion of the League into an Empire.—Connected with the advance of Democracy is the conversion of the Attic Confederacy into an Empire under the sway of Athens. The Allies had one by one forfeited the right of bearing arms, and the numerous rebellions among them led to many being reduced to the state of vassals. Thus the payment of the federal tribute became the token of subjection. On the removal of the treasury of the League the Federal Synod must have ceased to sit; its powers passed over to the Assembly of the Athenian Commons. Henceforth the assessment of the League devolved every four years upon the Athenians. If the Allies were in arrears in the payment of tribute forcible measures were taken to collect it by Attic officials, in whose company appeared ships of war. The Assembly of the Commons disposed of the funds of the League, which were now expended not only on the objects of the Confederacy, but often also for the needs of the Attic State.

The Allies were pledged to military service by land; even their civic institutions did not remain untouched. The most keenly felt restriction of their self-government was that which affected the dispensation of justice; a large number of suits were taken out of the hands of the native judges and handed over to the Attic juries. In a number of cities there were standing Attic garrisons, and in certain cases individual officials or commissions were sent out to scrutinise on the spot the affairs of the Allies.

Finally mention should be made of the so-called *Klērūchiai*, colonies

of Attic burgesses which were chosen from the two lowest classes; they served the twofold purpose of securing the loyalty of the subjects and of meeting the wants of the poorer citizens. We may name the *Thracian Chersonnesos*, *Naxos*, *Andros*, places in *Euboia*, and *Brea* in Thrace.

Attic Buildings.—The tribute was likewise employed in strengthening and adorning Athens with magnificent buildings. The fortifications of the city and harbour were supplemented by a third inner wall; with this was connected the completion of the town of Peiraieus. To these were added the ornamental structures in Athens. In the latter Perikles had a predecessor in Kimon, to whom were due an alteration in the level of the surface of the Akropolis, its encirclement with new walls, and the first steps in building the temple of Athena Parthenos, works which were interrupted by his fall. Perikles took them up. From 447 onwards work went on upon a new *Parthenon*; with this was combined a thorough remodelling of the *Akropolis*, which lost its character as a stronghold. On the eastern foot of the hill arose the *Odeion* for musical performances.

The Ostracism of Thukydides.—Under the influence of this ill-success in foreign policy the oligarchical party gathered new strength, the more so as a skilful leader, *Thukydides*, son of *Melesias*, took the leadership of it. The tension was raised to the utmost pitch by Athens' surrender in the peace of 446/5, and an ostracism resulted; but the majority of the population vigorously supported Perikles, and Thukydides was ostracised in the spring of 445. The supremacy of Perikles remained unshaken almost until his death; for fifteen years he was annually elected *Strategos*.

Henceforth repeated attempts were made by Athens to combine the Hellenes by peaceful means for common enterprises. To the year 453/2 belongs the new foundation of the ruined *Sybaris* by the descendants of the ejected inhabitants. The old hostility of Kroton revived, and the Sybarites were driven out again. They entreated Sparta and Athens to assist their return and to take part in the new foundation. Sparta refused compliance; the Athenians on the other hand granted them support and made on this occasion an attempt to establish a Panhellenic colony. They sent forth a summons to the whole of Greece to take part in the foundation. Under the leadership of the Athenians the colonists sailed in Attic ships to Lower Italy and founded *Thurioi* in the neighbour-

hood of the ancient Sybaris (445). The city suffered from internal feuds and struggles with its neighbours; its mixed population made it impossible for it to be kept in dependence on Athens.

It was probably in the year 444 that another enterprise was undertaken by Athens, which was meant to serve the interests of Greece in general. Perikles appeared with a fleet in *Pontos*. Some of the Pontic cities joined the Attic Confederacy; *Sinope* received Athenian settlers.

The Samian War.—A serious shock to the empire was occasioned by the *Revolt of Samos* (440). This island hitherto had been a loyal supporter of Athens, and in return had retained immunity from tribute and its oligarchical constitution. In consequence of a quarrel between it and Miletos Perikles interfered, set up democracy in place of the former constitution, and lodged a garrison in the town. After his departure Samian refugees acting in concert with the Persians seized upon the island. At the same time *Byzantion* revolted. Perikles at once shut up Samos by land and sea; in the ninth month of the siege it surrendered to superior force (439). It forfeited its independent rank, and had to pay an indemnity of over 2000 talents. Byzantion likewise returned to its condition of vassaldom.

The revolt of Samos was accompanied by outbreaks of insubordination in other regions; a portion of the Karian district was lost for ever. Hence in 439 a new division of the Quarters of the League was introduced; the remainder of the Karian Quarter was combined with that of Ionia and the order of precedence changed, being henceforth *Ionia*, *the Islands*, *Hellespontos*, and *Thrace*. Perikles endeavoured to make up for this loss by uniting the Greeks for peaceful cooperation. It was probably now that all the Greek cities of Asia Minor and Europe were called upon to send deputies to a *National Assembly* at Athens, which was to deliberate upon the restoration of the temples burnt down by the Persians, the sacrifices owing to the gods from the Wars of Independence, and the establishment of a general peace by

sea. The plan collapsed on the refusal of Sparta. On the other hand a tithe-offering of grain to the Eleusinian Goddesses was introduced by Athens and the Allies, and the other Greeks were invited to make the like payment. In the year 437/6 the afterwards important colony of *Amphipolis* was planted in a commanding position on the Strymon, under the leadership of Perikles' friend *Hagnon*.

The Opposition to Perikles.—It was doubtless ill success in foreign policy which again encouraged Perikles' enemies at home. The buildings on the Akropolis were now nearing completion; Perikles had been elected their superintendent, the gifted sculptor *Pheidias* his technical adviser; the latter with his pupils was adorning the Parthenon with magnificent works of sculpture. The advance of plastic art was accompanied by an equal development in poetry and history. Perikles was the centre of an intellectual circle representing modern enlightenment, to which belonged not only Pheidias but also the tragic poet *Sophokles*, the philosopher *Anaxagoras*, and the historian *Herodotos*. The Opposition found voice first in *Comedy*, which was anti-democratic in its sympathies and assailed Perikles and his private life with the most ruthless ridicule, especially after he had taken to himself as his second wife a beautiful and brilliant Milesian, *Aspasia*, whose past was not above reproach. Too feeble to attack Perikles himself, the Opposition endeavoured to strike at him through his supporters. In 438/7 the chryselephantine statue of the *Parthenos*, a work of Pheidias, was set up in the still unfinished temple of the goddess; impeached by a subordinate, the artist was cast into prison for embezzlement, but escaped and went to Elis. The Parthenon was completed in 434. In 437/6 began the building of the magnificent gateway of the *Propylaia*; it was finished after five years. The Mystery-Temple of the Eleusinian Goddesses, which had been burnt down by the Persians, was also restored on a colossal scale.

§ 21. Sicilian History

Sources.—What we have said above (§ 17) applies here. *Pindar* has devoted a few odes to Hieron; the main source is *Diodoros*, XI. and XII.

After the death of *Gelon* his brother *Hieron* secured for himself the monarchy and maintained it unchallenged until his death. His rule, outwardly brilliant through his successes in war, through the magnificence of his court and his patronage of poets, and through victories in games, had for its chief support a mercenary army and an extensive system of police. In the violence of his measures Hieron surpassed even Gelon. Under him were continued the transplantations of whole cities; by a new foundation of Katane, which henceforth was styled *Aitna*, he created a strong following for himself. It redounds to his abiding honour that outside Sicily he came forward as the protector of the Greeks against the surrounding barbarians. *Kyme* was threatened by an attack of the Etruscans; Hieron sent a fleet for its protection which was victorious in a sea-fight (474). The reign of Hieron was generally favoured with peace, and the arts of peace, particularly poetry, were promoted by him. Two most eminent poets of the home-country made a temporary stay at his court—*Aischylos*, who glorified the foundation of Aitna in a play, and *Pindar*, who extolled in song the victories of the tyrant's chariots; the lyric poet *Simonides* of Keos and his nephew *Bacchylides* found a permanent home in Sicily. Native poetry too attained a prime of its own in *Epicharmos*, the inventor of *Sicilian Comedy*.

In the latter half of Hieron's reign occurred a conflict with *Akragas*. Theron died in 472; his son *Thrasydaios* began a war with Syracuse, but was defeated and driven out of Akragas, where a democratic constitution was now introduced. Soon afterwards Hieron died (467/6). The kingdom passed on to his youngest brother *Thrasybulos*, whose violent conduct led to a revolt of the burgesses; democracy was now established in Syracuse.

The result of this was an outbreak of democratic revolutions in the other communities of Sicily; and this movement was favoured by Syracuse, although the cities hitherto subject to its rule became thereby independent. The transition to the new form of government brought with it serious disturbances. The *tyrannis* had removed the old class divisions, and by transplanting cities and admitting foreigners to burgess rights had completely mixed up the elements of the population. In the overthrow of the tyrants these worked harmoniously together; but a few years later there occurred a rising of the natives against the newly-made burghers, who for the most part had been mercenary soldiers. This civil war ended in the defeat of the latter. In the other cities likewise movements broke out to eject the new citizens or to bring about the return of the exiles; at length a combination was made to plant the new burgesses of all the cities together in a new commonwealth in the district of *Zankle*. Now began a period of great material and intellectual prosperity, which lasted without disturbance for well-nigh forty years.

A national movement which began with the *Sikels* deserves notice. Its champion *Duketios* was inspired with the design of creating a great Sikel empire. He succeeded in gradually combining together all the Sikel cities on the island. In 453 the work was completed; the centre of the national State was the newly-founded city of *Palike*. Hitherto Duketios had met with no hindrance from the Greeks; but when he now proceeded to attack Greek cities Akragas and Syracuse united against him. At first victorious, he was afterwards defeated, and the Sikel State thereupon collapsed. Duketios himself was forced to flee as a suppliant to Syracuse (451). He was magnanimously spared, and banished to Corinth. About the year 446 he returned to Sicily in command of Greek colonists, and founded the town of *Kale Akte* on the northern coast. War broke out over this between Akragas and Syracuse; a few years later Duketios died.

In the intellectual sphere Sicily produced a number of remarkable figures, notably the philosopher *Empedokles* of Akragas, the story of whose life, like that of Pythagoras, has been embellished by myth, and who took part in shaping the history of his native town as a reformer of its constitution. *Rhetoric* was first practised and taught as an art in Sicily; *Korax*, *Teisias*, and *Gorgias* were regarded as its founders. The last is at the same time a representative of the movement known by the name of the *Sophists*, that is, the school which claimed to be able to teach all branches of mental and practical activity. It did considerable service in assisting intellectual progress, but on the other hand its destructive criticism of existing conditions had harmful effects, especially as regards politics.

CHAPTER VI

The Peloponnesian War

Sources.—For the greater part of the Peloponnesian War *Thukydides* furnishes the record of a contemporary; his work, which was meant to embrace the whole war, remains incomplete, extending only to the autumn of 411. Both by his own share in the events he recounts and by his subsequent travels Thukydides was able to collect abundant material, in handling which he developed that profound criticism which makes him the first of Greek historians and one of the greatest historians of all times. His work however is not only incomplete but also without the finishing touches; several strata composed at different times may be discerned in it. He aims at giving only a military history, and hence divides his narrative by the years of the war. He constantly seeks to trace out the causal connexion of things; the speeches inserted by him are an admirable means to depict the general situation and to characterise important personalities.

By the side of Thukydides the account of *Ephoros* (in Diodoros, XII., XIII.) cuts a very poor figure; supplements to him are furnished not only by the inscriptions but likewise by *Plutarch's* biographies of Nikias and Alkibiades, particularly the former, for which he probably drew upon *Philistos* (an eminent Sicilian historian and statesman of the age of Dionysios I. and his son) and *Timaios*. The comedies of *Aristophanes* are of value in estimating public feeling and characterising Attic policy.

§ 22. Events before the War

The contest between the leading powers of Greece developed out of an unimportant dispute between a mother-city and her colony. In *Epidamnos*, a common foundation of Corinth and Korkyra, there broke out a bloody feud, in which the opposite parties claimed and received the assistance of the

two parent cities (436). Corinth, hoping to gain a point of support against Korkyra, sent a garrison to the democrats, to which the men of Korkyra responded by blockading Epidamnos. Thereupon the Corinthians prepared for a greater naval enterprise; but they were defeated by the superior fleet of Korkyra off the promontory of *Leukimme*, and at the same time Epidamnos surrendered. Korkyra for the moment held dominion over the Ionic Sea. When Corinth however began to make grand preparations, Korkyra sought the support of a greater power and turned to Athens. Here opinions were divided as to the feasibility of giving help; but men were unwilling to let slip the opportunity of winning over Korkyra, which possessed a fleet second only to that of Athens and by its position secured the connexion with Sicily and Italy. So the Athenians decided on half-measures, forming a defensive alliance with the men of Korkyra and sending to them a detachment of a few ships, more for observation than for protection. Meanwhile the preparations of Corinth were completed. In concert with Elis, Megara, and its colonies in Akarnania it called out 150 ships, which Korkyra could confront with but 110 vessels. Off the *Sybota* Islands was fought in the autumn of 433 a great naval engagement, in which the Corinthians gained the upper hand; the utter defeat of the fleet of Korkyra was prevented only by the unexpected appearance of a new Attic squadron. The Corinthians now desisted from carrying on the war.

They endeavoured instead to avenge themselves on Athens. The first place among the cities of Chalkidike was held by *Poteidaia*; Corinth made use of its influence over its colony to urge it and the Chalkidians into revolt, being supported therein by Perdikkas of Macedon. Upon the demand of Athens that it should pull down its walls, hand over hostages, and break off its relations with Corinth, Poteidaia put itself into connexion with Sparta, and in concert with the Chalkidians rose in revolt. An Attic corps arrived too late; supports from Corinth set out for Poteidaia, upon which the Athenians

strengthened their forces. The reinforced army defeated the Poteidaians and Peloponnesians in a conflict in the autumn of 432; the town was blockaded on land and sea by the Athenians.

Thus no course remained open to the Corinthians but to draw the Peloponnesian League into the dispute. At their instigation the Allies were called together to examine the charges raised against Athens; the complaints of Corinth were followed up by the Megarians, upon whom Athens had recently imposed a commercial embargo, and the Aiginetans. There was in Sparta a party, with the old king *Archidamos* at its head, which shrank from war; but the majority of the popular Assembly of Sparta declared it as their opinion that Athens had broken the peace of 446/5; a meeting of the Allies was ordered to be held later to confirm this verdict. In the interim the Spartans questioned the Delphian Oracle, which likewise declared for war.

At the next meeting the Corinthians again pressed for a breach, and it was due to their efforts that the majority voted for war. But the Peloponnesian League was not yet ready with its preparations. In order to gain time it entered into negotiations and put forth a number of demands, pretending to make compliance with them the condition for the maintenance of peace. These terms were such that Athens could not possibly meet them. In the first instance Sparta called for the expiation of the outrage done formerly by the Athenians to the adherents of Kylon (§ 13); this was aimed directly against Perikles, the descendant of the Alkmeonids. Next it put forward a demand that they should raise the siege of Poteidaia, give up Aigina, and revoke the embargo on Megara. This last request would have entailed a dissolution of the Attic Confederacy. The response of Athens on the main issues was one of decided refusal; Perikles, who was unhesitatingly followed by his fellow-citizens, was the guiding spirit in the resistance.

§ 23. The Archidamian War

The whole Hellenic world divided into two camps. Apart from its subjects, *Athens* had few but powerful allies —Korkyra, Zakynthos, Naupaktos and Akarnania, Plataiai, and Thessaly. On the side of *Sparta* were the whole Peloponnesos (with the exception of Argos, which however was bound down by a Thirty Years' Peace with Sparta dating from 451, and of Achaia), Megara, and in Central Greece Boiotia, Phokis, Lokris, and the Corinthian colonies on the Ionic Sea. The sympathies of the majority inclined decidedly to Sparta, from which they hoped for salvation from the ambition of Athens.

The strength of Sparta lay in its well-disciplined army of about 30,000 men, including the Allies, while on the other hand Athens was superior in its fighting force by sea. The latter had moreover a land-army of 13,000 hoplites to take the field, without including the Allies. Its yearly income in tribute amounted to 600 talents; besides this there was in hand a reserve fund of 6000 talents. The fact that the city of Athens was capable of lodging if necessary the whole country population determined the plan of campaign which Perikles proposed to his fellow-citizens. The open country was evacuated and abandoned to the inroads of the enemy; the Athenians were not to hazard a battle by land, but to undertake raids with their fleet into hostile territory. Thus Perikles hoped in course of time to tire out the enemy.

The war was opened early in March 431 by a night-attack on *Plataiai* by a band of Thebans, which failed; the assailants had to surrender and were put to death, contrary to promise. The Spartans at once sent forth to their allies a summons to invade Attica, and in the second half of May crossed the frontier. The country was evacuated by its inhabitants; although the Athenians wished for battle, Perikles suppressed the movement with a firm hand. While the enemy were still resting in Attica a fleet sailed off to Peloponnesos

and captured Kephallenia. A short time before this the Athenians had driven out the Aiginetans and settled *Kleruchoi* on the island. In the autumn Perikles burst into Megaris and harried it.

The second year of the war began in the spring of 430 with another inroad by the Spartans. Soon after their entrance a pestilence broke out in Athens. It had been brought in from the East, and found abundant pasture in the dense population packed together in the town; it had more effect than any other event in loosening the close cohesion of the burgess-body of Attica. During the invasion Perikles undertook an expedition with the fleet; but as the pestilence appeared on the ships as well, he was forced to return home without success.

The Athenians laid the blame for their ill success upon Perikles, and endeavoured in his absence to come to terms with Sparta; the attempt however failed. The general discontent at length found utterance in Perikles being impeached and condemned to a fine, at the same time forfeiting his position as *Strategos*. He was however restored to the command after some time, but died soon after his new accession to office in September 429.

Athens now entered into the courses of advanced Democracy, which had proclaimed as its principle the prosecution of the war. The popular leader who gradually came to the front was the leather-manufacturer *Kleon*, a skilful demagogue possessing a certain instinct for what suited the needs of the moment, but of coarse character, without real elevation of principles and devoid of all statesmanly endowments. His antithesis was *Nikias*, a wealthy capitalist of conservative sympathies and well liked by the commons, who afterwards became leader of the peace-party.

The winter brought Athens a considerable gain in the surrender of *Poteidaia*. Attica in 429 was spared an invasion. Instead of this the Spartans proceeded to invest *Plataiai*. The siege lasted two years; then the town at length surrendered and was levelled to the ground. In the West

Athens maintained its position, thanks to the remarkable ability of *Phormion*, who blocked the Gulf of Corinth at Naupaktos and defeated a Peloponnesian fleet that was trying to bring about the revolt of Akarnania. In the winter of 430/29 circumstances seemed to be shaping favourably for Athens on the Thracian coast. The friendly Thracian king *Sitalkes*, who ruled over a large part of the Balkan Peninsula, planned an expedition against Macedon and the Chalkidians, and poured an enormous army over these regions as far as Chalkidike; but as the promised cooperation of Athens failed to come he fell back after a month's time.

From 428 onwards there occurred successive revolts of the subjects of Athens. First the island of *Lesbos* broke away; an Attic fleet arrived too late, and had to content itself with investing Mytilene by sea. The rising had been preceded by negotiations with Sparta; Mytilenaian envoys now presented themselves at the festival assembly in Olympia, and Mytilene was admitted into the Peloponnesian Confederacy. The Athenians gathered themselves together for a remarkable effort; they decided for the first time in the war to levy a property-tax, a measure very little to their liking, and are said to have had in this year 250 triremes afloat. In the autumn Mytilene was blockaded by land also. In the spring of 427 the relieving Peloponnesian fleet at last put out to sea; but as it delayed on its way the Mytilenaians were forced to an unconditional surrender. The Peloponnesians now returned home in disgraceful flight. On the motion of Kleon the Attic Assembly determined to put to death all adult Mytilenaians; but on the following day they revoked this equally imprudent and inhuman decision. Those concerned in the revolt, over 1000 in number, were executed, the ships surrendered, the walls pulled down, and the land allotted to Attic *Kleruchoi*.

The year 426 marks a radical change in Athens' plan of campaign; instead of the defence recommended by Perikles vigorous measures of offence were begun, which often overshot the mark. The champion of this policy was *Demosthenes*

of Aphidna. His very first enterprise was one of energetic assault. He allowed himself to be persuaded by the Messenians in Naupaktos to make an expedition against the *Aitolians*, hoping after the reduction of these to overpower the whole of Central Greece as far as Boiotia; but when he penetrated inland the campaign resulted at the very outset in serious losses. Soon afterwards however he defeated a Spartan army which was proceeding against Akarnania.

His credit was thus restored. In the spring of 425 he was put in command of a fleet which was sailing to Korkyra and Sicily, with full powers to use it at his discretion on its course round Peloponnesos. He occupied and fortified *Pylos* on the Messenian coast, which had been overlooked by the Spartans. On the news of this the Peloponnesians abandoned Attica and assaulted Pylos, but were beaten back both by land and by sea; several hundreds of Spartans who had occupied the island of *Sphakteria* fronting the bay were cut off. This led to a truce, and in the interval to negotiations. The Athenians, misled by Kleon, put forth a most immoderate demand for the restoration of the positions resigned by them in the peace of 446/5. The war was renewed; but the investment of the troops on Sphakteria went on but tardily, and there arose in Athens a feeling of resentment for this against Kleon. The latter had no choice but to take over the command himself; but he did not suffer himself to be intimidated, and promised to reduce Sphakteria within twenty days. He prudently stipulated that Demosthenes should be his colleague in the command. Contrary to expectation, the venture succeeded; Sphakteria was taken by storm and more than one hundred full burgesses of Sparta fell into the hands of the Athenians. They were kept in custody as a pledge of peace. Messenians from Naupaktos were settled in Pylos.

By this brilliant success Kleon rose to the height of his influence, and the programme of war to the knife championed by him was fully carried out. In the same summer *Nikias* undertook a raid into the territory of Corinth and there

occupied the peninsula of *Methana*. In *Korkyra*, with the help of the Attic fleet, the party of oligarchy was forced into surrender and slaughtered by their fellow-citizens. This energetic conduct of the war by Athens had a dark side; in 425 the city found itself compelled to double the tribute of its subjects. The spring of 424 brought with it a new success, Nikias depriving the Spartans of *Kythera* and occupying the district of *Thyrea*.

Athens had thus surrounded the Peloponnesos with a chain of fortified posts restricting the freedom of its movements. Now the tide begins to turn, thanks to one man with extraordinary gifts of generalship, the Spartan *Brasidas*. Already in 424 an attempt made by Athens upon *Megara* was thwarted by his appearance on the scene. He was then preparing for a bold enterprise, for which the Spartans assigned him but slight forces; he proposed, on the invitation of the Chalkidian cities and Macedon, to march through Central and Northern Greece into Thrace, in order to detach that province from Athens. He succeeded in obtaining without bloodshed leave to march through Thessaly. Perdikkas at once came to his side, and soon some confederate cities revolted.

The Athenians were then busied with a great undertaking against Boiotia. Demosthenes wished to invade the west of the country from Naupaktos, while at the same time Hippokrates was to march out from Athens. But the plan miscarried; Hippokrates suffered a crushing defeat at *Delion* (424).

A short time after this Brasidas took *Amphipolis*, the key of Thrace. This gave the signal for further revolts, and the loss of the whole Thracian Quarter seemed now to be only a question of time. So the Athenians in the spring of 423 resolved on a truce for one year, on the basis of the *status quo*. Brasidas paid no heed to it, and won over still more cities to his side. Upon this the Athenians despatched a corps under *Nikias* to Thrace. Elsewhere in Greece the truce was observed. When it had expired *Kleon* took over the command (summer 422). But his methods of blindly

striking out were no match for the generalship of a Brasidas. He was attacked by the latter in a reconnaissance before Amphipolis and defetaed; both the generals met their death in the battle.

Both in Athens and in Sparta the champions of the policy of peace, *Nikias* and King *Pleistoanax* (who had been recalled some time before this), came now into power; negotiations went on over the whole winter, and in April 421 a compact was made for fifty years. This Peace amounted on the whole to a restoration of the balance of power as it had been before 431. Its accomplishment was beset with immediate difficulties, for the leading allies of Sparta refused to acknowledge the compact; Sparta soon found itself compelled to conclude a defensive alliance with Athens. This action of Sparta evoked among its allies a feeling of resentment which threatened to burst the framework of the Symmachia. Corinth, Argos, Elis, Mantinea, and the Thracian Chalkidians grouped themselves together in a league. In Athens on the other hand there soon arose discontent with Sparta, which could neither give back Amphipolis nor force the Peloponnesians to acknowledge the peace. All these circumstances brought the war-party once again into power at Sparta.

The result was that in Athens too the current of hostility to Sparta became preponderant. The leadership of the war-party was taken by *Alkibiades*. He came from the old nobility; he was related on the mother's side to Kleisthenes and Perikles, and brilliantly gifted in body and intellect; but he lacked a strict sense of duty, and both politics and life were to him things of mere enjoyment. Hitherto he was known only by his mad escapades; now, little more than thirty years of age, he entered upon a political career in a spirit of burning ambition, and for personal reasons pursued a course of enmity to Sparta. He brought into being a defensive alliance between Athens on the one hand and Elis, Argos, and Mantinea on the other (summer 420), upon which Corinth again approached Sparta. In the following

years he personally worked in Peloponnesos against Sparta; and when the latter protected Epidauros against the assaults of Argos the Athenians at his prompting declared the peace to be broken (winter 419). In the summer of 418 the Spartans were on the point of crushing the hostile league by force of arms; but King Agis consented to a truce. In spite of this the enemy took Orchomenos and threatened Tegea. The Spartan army, once more under Agis, marched out with unwonted speed and defeated the enemy in the battle of *Mantinea* (midsummer 418). The anti-Spartan alliance was thereby dissolved.

The credit of Alkibiades in Athens was most sorely damaged by the failure of his policy. The demagogue *Hyperbolos* profited by this feeling to propose that an ostracism should be held, doubtless with the design of setting himself up in the place of Alkibiades. The latter however made an agreement with Nikias that the votes of their combined supporters should be given against Hyperbolos, who was thus ostracised (spring 417). It was the last time that the ostracism was applied in Athens.

§ 24. The Sicilian War

In opposition to Syracuse's design of imposing its rule on the whole of Sicily, the cities of Chalkidian origin sought support from the leading Ionic power, Athens, which in 433/2 concluded treaties with Leontinoi and Rhegion. The feud between Syracuse and Leontinoi came to a head some years later; the latter then sent to Athens an embassy under the guidance of the famous rhetorician *Gorgias* to crave help. But the two fleets which Athens despatched in 427 and 425 to Sicily effected little.

In the summer of 424 the Greek cities of Sicily met together in a Peace-Congress at Gela, and here the Syracusan *Hermokrates*, a man of remarkable gifts of statesmanship, brought about a general reconciliation.

It was part of the programme of the democratic party in

Athens to extend Attic rule over Sicily, and even over Carthage. In the winter of 416/15 came an embassy from *Segesta* with a prayer for help in a frontier-dispute with *Selinus*, which latter was supported by Syracuse. First commissioners sailed to Sicily, in order to satisfy themselves as to the state of affairs and the resources of Segesta, and when they returned in spring 415 with favourable reports the Athenians decided to send out a fleet under the command of the generals *Alkibiades*, *Nikias*, and *Lamachos*. Nikias endeavoured to bring about the annulment of this scheme, so vast in its outlook; but the only result of this effort was that the Athenians ordained still greater preparations. When in May 415 the fleet was near to departure, all the stone *Hermai* planted along the streets of the town were mutilated by night; the originator of this act has to this day never been discovered. The Athenians were not only exasperated at the outrage on religion; they feared too some indefinite great danger, the overthrow of the constitution. An investigation was set on foot, in which Alkibiades was inculpated; information came in against him that he had mocked the ceremony of the Mysteries in revels with friends. At his request the people decided that he should sail to Sicily and that legal proceedings should not be held until his return. In July 415 the fleet put out to sea; at Korkyra the confederate ships and troops joined the Athenians. The number of ships of war amounted to 136; of the 5100 hoplites the larger part were allies; cavalry was entirely absent. Thence the reinforced armada proceeded to Rhegion, where the generals held a council of war. The proposal of Alkibiades to first win over the other cities and the Sikels by diplomatic means and then to assail Syracuse and Selinus was adopted. A short time after this the Athenian Ship of State arrived with a summons to Alkibiades to return and stand his trial. He complied, but escaped at Thurioi and fled to the Peloponnesos. In his absence he was sentenced to death and his goods sequestrated.

With the recall of Alkibiades the motive force in the

Sicilian War was lost; Nikias, by whom Lamachos was put into the background, was an irresolute character, with no liking for adventure. The rest of the summer was wasted in purposeless movements hither and thither, and the enemy was allowed time for preparation. At the beginning of winter the Athenians at last advanced upon Syracuse and planted themselves on the south of the Great Harbour; but this unsuitable point was immediately abandoned by them. They spent the winter in Katane, and the Sikels joined them.

The Syracusans used their leisure for further preparations. Hermokrates gained a guiding influence and was chosen general. The fortifications of the town were then extended. Syracuse originally lay upon an island, *Ortygia*; but its compass had soon spread over the eastern shore, the fronting plateau of *Achradina*. Here a new quarter, *Temenites*, was now included in the city-walls. Envoys then went to Corinth and Sparta with a request for aid. There they met Alkibiades, who henceforth played a part fatal to his native city. Knowing better than any other man the weak points of Athens, he advised that a Spartan be sent as commander for the Syracusans and the war renewed in Greece; in its continuance an occupation of Dekeleia would do the greatest harm to Athens. The Spartans resolved in the first instance to send *Gylippos* to Syracuse.

In the spring of 414 the Athenians advanced for the second time upon Syracuse. They occupied the plateau of *Epipolai* commanding the town; in a few days they built at its northern verge the fort of *Labdalon* and at the more easterly point of *Syke* a large round structure as the centre of their developments; it was to be joined to the sea by flank-walls running north and south, and thereby Syracuse was to be entirely locked up. The attempts of the Syracusans to thwart this by building cross-walls were foiled; in one of these combats Lamachos, the originator of these vigorous tactics, met his death. At the same time the Attic fleet sailed into the Great Harbour.

Meanwhile *Gylippos* had landed at Himera. With a little

band he marched across the island to Syracuse. The news of his coming moved the Syracusans to revoke the decision they had made to surrender. Nikias had neglected to complete the northern wall of investment; Gylippos entered through the gap into the town. On the very next day he took Labdalon, and the Syracusans now began to build a third cross-wall. Nikias on the other hand occupied the height of *Plemmyrion* to the south of the Harbour and there raised three forts, under the protection of which the ships lay. Gylippos first accustomed the dispirited Syracusans to face the Athenians in battle. A pause then ensued. Ships came up from Corinth and its colonies, and the Syracusans exercised their fleet, while Gylippos enlisted allies in the interior of the country. Nikias also sent home a message in which he described his unfavourable position; upon this *Demosthenes* and *Eurymedon* were appointed his colleagues. Eurymedon started off at once (winter solstice 414); Demosthenes was to follow on with the main force in the spring.

Ever since the summer of 414 Athens and Sparta had been in a state of open war. In the spring of 413 the Spartans invaded Attica and occupied *Dekeleia*; at the same time an army of Boiotians and Peloponnesians was sent to Syracuse. On the other hand Demosthenes put out to sea with his troops.

The Syracusans had meanwhile ventured to confront the enemy by sea; they were indeed defeated, but during the combat Gylippos surprised Plemmyrion. The Athenians were thus no longer in command of the entrance to the Harbour, and were confined to the narrow space between their two southern walls. The cities of Sicily which hitherto had remained neutral now sent reinforcements to the Syracusans, so that nearly the whole island stood on their side. The Syracusans strove to strike a decisive blow before the arrival of Demosthenes; after strengthening the fore-parts of their ships they offered battle by sea to the Athenians and came off victorious. At length Demosthenes and Eurymedon

came up with strong forces—73 ships and 5000 heavily-armed men. Demosthenes at once recognised that everything depended upon recovering possession of Epipolai; but a night-attack which he undertook proved a failure.

The generals now took counsel as to further measures. Demosthenes represented the necessity of sailing home as quickly as possible; Nikias would not undertake the responsibility for this, and thus a delay ensued. When Gylippos however collected further troops and the supports from Peloponnesos also came up, Nikias at last saw the need for departure. As the Athenians were setting about this an eclipse of the moon occurred (August 27, 413), and thereupon the superstitious Nikias declared that in obedience to the soothsayers' orders they must wait for twenty-seven days. The Syracusans, learning of this and now aiming at the annihilation of the enemy, again offered battle by sea, and were victorious despite the Athenians' superior force. To remove the possibility of their escape they barricaded the mouth of the Great Harbour. The Athenians determined to force a passage; at the same time they abandoned their fortifications on the plateau. In spite of the utmost valour they did not succeed in breaking through the Syracusan fleet; they lost in the fight nearly half their ships. Demosthenes' design for a second attempt to force his way out was thwarted by the resistance of the sailors.

On the second day after the battle the Athenians started to retreat by land, leaving behind the sick and wounded. Their line of march was towards the interior of the country; they were divided into two corps, the command of which was held by Nikias and Demosthenes. Syracusan cavalry swarmed round them on their way. The whole march until the striking of the final blow lasted eight days. Failing to storm the table-land on the west, they turned without definite goal towards the south. On the sixth day Demosthenes was compelled to surrender. Nikias held out for two days longer, until the main part of his army, worn out and tortured with hunger and thirst, was overtaken by

destruction in crossing the river *Assinaros*; the rest, with their leader, fell into captivity. Of 40,000 men who had begun the retreat only 7000 prisoners survived: these were despatched to Syracuse, and judgment of death was pronounced on the two generals. The remainder were at first kept in the quarries, where they wasted away; after some months those that were still living were taken out and either sold as slaves or sent into the public jail.

§ 25. The Dekeleian War

Sources.—For the beginning we have still *Thukydides* (Book VIII.); on the revolution of the Four Hundred *Aristotle* had documentary information (ch. 29 ff.), whereas Thukydides gives much that is incorrect.

The history of the Dekeleian War from autumn 411 is narrated in Xenophon's *Hellenika*, Bks. I., II. *Xenophon*, born in the latter half of the fifth century in Athens, was a pupil of Sokrates; he shared in the expedition of Kyros the Younger and the Retreat of the Ten Thousand, and then entered the service of the Spartans, whose king Agesilaos shewed him lasting favour. For this he was punished with exile from his native city; he lived in Elis, and afterwards until the end of his life in Corinth, even after his banishment had been revoked. His *Hellenika* comprise the history of Greece from 411 to 362 (down to the battle of Mantinea); in them also several stages of composition may be distinguished. The first two books in their division closely follow Thukydides. Finished in point of style, Xenophon's narrative stands far below that of the great historian, though not yet tainted with the faults of the rhetorical school of history; it suffers from great inequality, important subjects being often passed over and less weighty matter treated at length; the author's bias in favour of Sparta is also noticeable.

Xenophon and *Ephoros* (in Diodoros) are supplemented by *Plutarch's* biography of Lysandros.

The news of its army's annihilation was at first received in Athens with unbelief, and then aroused the utmost consternation. Soon however the Athenians collected themselves; they determined on new preparations, and in their distrust of the demagogues set to work on a reform of the constitution. During the course of the Sicilian war they had imposed in lieu of the tribute a tax on the Allies' imports and exports.

The Revolt of Ionia.—The subjects of Athens deemed that

the hour had come to shake off its yoke; the most important of them, Euboia, Lesbos, Chios, and Erythrai, entered in the winter of 413/12 into relations with Sparta. The requests of the Ionians were supported by *Tissaphernes*, the satrap of Sardes, who undertook to provide for the Spartan fleet; the secret design of the Persians in this was to recover the coasts of Asia Minor. *Pharnabazos*, the satrap of the Hellespontine province, likewise invited the Spartans to detach with his help the subjects of Athens in that quarter.

In spring 412 *Alkibiades* and the Spartan *Chalkideus* set sail with five ships to stir up Ionia into revolt. *Chios*, *Klazomenai*, and *Erythrai* successively rose. The Athenians laid hands on the last reserve in their treasury and despatched a squadron which made Samos its base; meanwhile *Teos* and *Miletos* broke away. The Spartans concluded with Persia a compact for common action against Athens, in which they recognised the Persian claims upon the coasts. The Athenians by gradual additions had amassed a powerful force, with which they gained a victory by land near *Miletos*. Now began a reaction from the enemy's previous success. Quarrels broke out between Tissaphernes and the Spartans; Alkibiades likewise dissociated himself from the latter and in the winter of 412/11 went over to Tissaphernes, whom he strove with all his power to poison against them. He entered into relations with the partisans of oligarchy on the Attic fleet at Samos and promised to bring over the Persian king and Tissaphernes to the side of Athens, if the form of government were first changed. In this he was moved by the wish to procure his own return to Athens, which he deemed impossible so long as democracy endured. The oligarchs despatched *Peisandros* to Athens, to work for a revolution.

The Revolution of the Four Hundred.—In the spring of 411 the seat of war was transferred to the Hellespontos, whither the Spartan *Derkylidas* sailed. About the middle of summer took place the *Revolution of the Four Hundred* in Athens.

The oligarchs in this wholly disregarded Alkibiades; the way for the change was paved by the activity of the *hetairiai* or oligarchical clubs. First a commission of thirty men was established to draft a scheme for the reform of the constitution; on their motion it was resolved to put aside the constitutional safeguards against illegal proposals, to abolish salaries, and to entrust the conduct of the State to 5000 well-to-do burgesses. The government was for the time put into the hands of a council of four hundred, which nominated all magistrates, even the *strategoi*, who were given extraordinary powers; the old Council was forcibly dissolved. The leaders of the oligarchy were *Peisandros*, the orator *Antiphon*, *Phrynichos*, and *Theramenes*.

The Four Hundred despatched to Sparta an embassy to seek peace, and endeavoured to win over the fleet at Samos. Here however a counter-current of democracy had arisen under the leadership of *Thrasybulos* and *Thrasylos*; the fleet pledged itself by an oath to oppose the oligarchy, and chose new generals. The leaders summoned Alkibiades to Samos, in the hope of thereby gaining over Persia; he was also appointed general.

The report of these events in Athens led to the power of the Four Hundred being seriously shaken. A rift arose among them, and a moderate party grew up, at the head of which was *Theramenes*, a politician who was keenly observant of changes in public sentiment and was wont to regulate his conduct in accordance. The extremists on the other hand sent to Sparta for reinforcements, and built a fort to lodge them on *Eetioneia*, a spit of land on the west of Peiraieus. The opposition openly expressed its feelings by the murder of *Phrynichos* and the destruction of the new fortress. The rule of the Four Hundred at length collapsed without opposition when a Spartan fleet led Euboia to revolt; it had lasted four months. Its place was taken first by a moderate constitution. The banishment of Alkibiades was revoked and relations with the fleet established. Most of the oligarchical leaders escaped; Antiphon was executed.

Conduct of the War by Alkibiades.—In Asia Minor the Peloponnesians, in compliance with the summons of Pharnabazos, had meantime transferred the seat of war to the north. Off the promontory of *Kynossema* was fought a naval engagement in which the Athenians maintained the upper hand; soon after this they gained a yet more brilliant victory by sea and by land near *Abydos*, which was decided by the appearance of Alkibiades at the right moment. Alkibiades now essayed once more to win over Tissaphernes, but was thrown by him into prison; he succeeded after a month's time in making his escape. In the beginning of 410 he won a new victory near *Kyzikos*, in which he deprived the Peloponnesians of all their ships. As a result of this *Kyzikos* and *Perinthos* came over; a toll-station was set up at *Chrysopolis*, and tolls levied on all ships sailing out from Pontos. After this reverse Sparta made proposals for peace, which on the instigation of the influential demagogue *Kleophon* were rejected.

In 409 the successes of the Athenians were continued in the North; the whole Hellespontine Quarter, with Byzantion, was won back. Pharnabazos even stoôped to conclude a truce and to give a conduct to an Attic embassy to the Great King. The Spartans however had anticipated the Athenians in suing for Persia's favour. *Kyros*, the son of King Dareios, an enemy of Athens and a man of great ambition, was appointed satrap of the coast-province with a commission to support Sparta; the envoys of Athens were compelled while still on their way to turn back.

About the same time Alkibiades set about preparing for his return to his native city (408). Before he arrived the sphere of Athenian rule gained an important extension by the reduction of Thrace by *Thrasybulos*. Alkibiades was greeted with rapture; the curse resting upon him was recalled, his property returned to him, and he himself was appointed *strategos* by land and sea with unlimited powers. His credit rose still higher when despite the Spartan garrison in Dekeleia he conducted to Eleusis the first procession of the Mysteries

that had been held for years. In the autumn he set sail with a great armament.

Unhappily for him and for Athens, the lead of the Peloponnesian fleet was now taken by *Lysandros*, a man of great military and diplomatic gifts and of ruthless energy. He at once established an understanding with Kyros and succeeded in obtaining from him increased support in money, whilst Alkibiades had continually to contend with scarcity of coin. Lysandros avoided facing Alkibiades; but when the latter once more went away and entrusted the command of the fleet to a deputy, an engagement was fought near *Notion* in which the Athenians suffered a reverse (spring 407). This led to a complete reaction in feeling at Athens, and Alkibiades and the other generals were deposed. He went to the Thracian Chersonnesos, where he had built himself some castles.

The End of the War.—The situation of the Athenians improved when in autumn 407 Lysandros was succeeded by *Kallikratidas* as *Nauarchos*. The latter soon fell to quarrelling with Kyros, and the ill-assorted union of the Powers seemed to be nearing its dissolution. Kallikratidas inflicted a defeat upon the Attic general *Konon* in the harbour of Mytilene, and shut him in together with his fleet. The Athenians rallied for a remarkable effort; within thirty days they manned 210 ships and gave battle to the Spartans off the group of the *Arginusai* islands, where they were brilliantly successful and Kallikratidas perished (summer 406). Sparta once more made overtures of peace, but *Kleophon's* influence again decided their rejection.

On the death of Kallikratidas the Ionians requested Sparta to again send out Lysandros. As this was not legally permitted, he was formally named junior admiral (*Epistoleus*) while really holding supreme command. He at once renewed friendly relations with Kyros, and again received from him support in coin. He took up his position at Lampsakos in the Hellespontos; the Attic fleet lay directly opposite, at *Aigospotamoi*. As Lysandros did not at once proceed to

attack, the Athenians grew careless. He waited for a moment when they had again scattered themselves in their foraging over the country, and fell upon the ships. Without the fighting of a battle the whole fleet became his prey and the crews his prisoners (summer 405).

In Athens at first it was thought that utter ruin was imminent; then it was resolved to take measures against the impending siege. The disaster to Athens gave the signal for revolt to all that had still remained loyal; Samos alone was steadfast. The Athenians found in the Confederate cities were sent home by Lysandros, in order to increase the distress during the siege. At the news of the approach of Lysandros a Peloponnesian army under King Pausanias marched out and invested Athens by land; Lysandros lay with the fleet before Peiraieus.

The condition of Athens grew desperate, the more so as scarcity of provisions was soon felt. So an embassy went with a request for peace first to King Agis at Dekeleia and thence to Sparta; it was however rejected. In Athens the fiercest factionary struggles now arose. *Theramenes* gained permission to go to Lysandros; but after staying three months with him he returned with the answer that Lysandros had no powers to conclude a treaty. He was thereupon despatched as plenipotentiary to Sparta. In the deliberations of the confederates the Corinthians and Thebans championed the view that Athens should be destroyed; but the Spartans were too shrewd to allow this. They demanded the demolition of the Long Walls and the fortifications in Peiraieus, the surrender of the navy, the recall of the exiles, and the entrance of Athens into the Spartan Confederacy; lastly they determined that the city should conform to its 'ancestral constitution.' With these terms Theramenes went home. The treaty was accepted by the popular assembly without much resistance; on the next day the city surrendered to Lysandros, and the demolition of the Long Walls began (April 404).

§ 26. Sicily after the War with Athens

Sources.—The story of this period is told in Diodoros, Book XIII.

The connexion between *Sparta* and *Syracuse* lasted on after the defeat of the Athenians; the Syracusans despatched a squadron under *Hermokrates* to the Peloponnesians in the Dekeleian War. Strengthened by their victory, the pride of the Syracusan people found expression in a democratic reform of the constitution, of which the originator is stated to have been the demagogue *Diokles*. The peaceful growth of Sicily however was soon rudely interrupted by the interference of *Carthage*. The occasion for this was given by a renewed quarrel between *Selinus* and *Segesta*. The latter now turned for help to Carthage (410), and found a powerful advocate in the Suffetes *Hannibal*; a grandson of the Hamilkar who had fallen before Himera (§ 17), he burned to wipe out the blot on his family. The neutrality of Syracuse was secured by a skilful stroke; Carthage then despatched in advance a small corps, which defeated the Selinuntians.

In the spring of 409 *Hannibal* landed with a great army of burghers and mercenaries at the promontory of Lilybaion, marched at once upon *Selinus*, and began the assault on the town with powerful engines of war. As the assistance of the Greek cities was delayed, Selinus on the ninth day was stormed and sacked, the inhabitants for the most part slain or enslaved. It was the first time that a Greek city in Sicily had fallen into the hands of barbarians. He then advanced upon *Himera*, which was captured and levelled to the ground. Hannibal returned to Africa; the result of his campaign was the formation of a Carthaginian province in the west of Sicily.

Soon after this *Hermokrates*, who had been banished from Syracuse, came back to Sicily. He set on foot a free-booting war against the Carthaginian provinces and endeavoured to compass by force his return to Syracuse, but here met with his death (408).

The Carthaginians, who designed to subjugate the whole

of Sicily, established as a point of support a purely Phoenician colony, *Therma*. Hannibal marched with a colossal force (120,000 or 300,000 men) against *Akragas*, then a flourishing community famous for its wealth. During the siege a pestilence broke out among the Carthaginians, of which Hannibal died; his place was taken by Himilkon. Assistance now drew near from the Greek cities, among them Syracuse, and the Carthaginians fell into an evil plight, until the capture of a Syracusan fleet laden with provisions enabled them to bring the Greeks into straits. The leaders of the reinforcements resolved to withdraw; the men of Akragas thereupon abandoned their city and fled to Gela. After a siege of eight months Himilkon entered Akragas and gathered immense booty (406).

The fall of Akragas called forth the utmost terror among the Sicilian Greeks; at the same time general anger arose against the Syracusan generals, who were accused of causing the disaster by their withdrawal. This feeling was turned to account by a younger Syracusan, *Dionysios*, who came forward in the popular assembly against the generals. The latter were deposed and others appointed in their place, among them Dionysios, who had thus reached the first step towards the accomplishment of his ambitious designs. To secure support, he managed to obtain the recall of the exiles. Then after forcibly interfering at Gela in the interests of the Demos he marched back at the head of his troops to Syracuse and accused his colleagues of having a secret understanding with Carthage. The commons were seduced into electing him sole general with unlimited powers. Soon afterwards he enlisted mercenary troops and presented himself in the rôle of a confessed Tyrant (406).

After Himilkon had passed the winter in Akragas the city was pulled down, and the Carthaginians marched on to invest *Gela* (405). The place was valorously defended, and Dionysios came to its support with a considerable army. But his double attack upon the Carthaginian camp failed, and he marched off. The inhabitants fled to Syracuse, and the

population of *Kamarina* followed their example. Gela and Kamarina shared the fate of Akragas. Public anger now turned against Dionysios; the Syracusan knights on the march homeward hastened ahead and tried to work up a revolt, which was at once crushed. The Carthaginians were hindered by a pestilence in their army from further progress, and a peace was concluded between the two Powers, by which the Carthaginians were confirmed in their rule over the province in the West, and the cities conquered by them in the last few years assumed the position of their tributaries (405).

SECTION III

THE DECLINE OF THE NATIVE HEGEMONIES

CHAPTER VII

The Hegemony of Sparta

§ 27. The Thirty at Athens and the Restoration of Democracy

Sources.—The rule of the Thirty, besides being treated by Xenophon, is discussed by *Aristotle* (*Constitution of the Athenians*, ch. 35 ff.), whose account is often erroneous, especially in the order of events; Xenophon, who was living at this time in Athens, deserves preference. For Sokrates the writings of Plato and Xenophon on the subject should be compared.

After the surrender of Athens (404) Lysandros sailed to Samos, which capitulated after a blockade of some length. In the interim was waged a fierce war at Athens between the oligarchs and the democrats. At the request of the oligarchs Lysandros returned to Athens after the surrender of Samos, and under the influence of his presence it was resolved to

establish oligarchy by appointing thirty men to draw up the scheme of a new constitution. The most remarkable of them was *Theramenes*, now the leader of a moderate party in the State, and *Kritias*, a member of the old nobility, possessed of great intellectual gifts and pitiless vigour, and formerly a zealous democrat. The Council of Five Hundred still lived on beside the Thirty.

At the outset the new rulers were moderate. They even secured a certain popularity by prosecuting the 'Sycophants' (*sȳkophantai*), that is to say, those who had carried on the trade of professional informers under the democracy. But their conduct soon became arbitrary. They requested of Sparta a garrison to protect their government, and this they received by the agency of Lysandros. With this backing they launched out upon a persecution of all men of notable wealth and reputation, whose property they confiscated. In a short time 1500 citizens had been delivered over to death; many fled away into the neighbouring States, finding a refuge especially in Thebes. The leader in this rule of terror was *Kritias*. In opposition to him *Theramenes* insisted upon the necessity of setting the citizen-body on a regular basis. The hostile party at length gave way to his pressure, and 3000 burgesses were chosen to hold political powers; those who stood outside this circle were made impotent by being disarmed. The antagonism between Theramenes and Kritias grew more and more acute; at last the latter caused Theramenes to be arrested and put to death. The Thirty were delivered from a great anxiety when Pharnabazos, on pressure from Sparta, had *Alkibiades* murdered.

The exiles had now combined in Thebes for the deliverance of Athens; the command over them was taken by *Thrasybulos*. With a small band, which soon increased tenfold, he occupied the fort of *Phyle* on the Boiotian frontier and defeated the Thirty when they took the field against him. Encouraged by this, he advanced upon the hill of *Munichia* in the Peiraieus, and held it against the Tyrants; in the battle Kritias lost his life. On the next day the Thirty

were deposed by the burgesses, and withdrew to Eleusis. Their place was taken by a board of Ten, appointed for the purpose of bringing the civil war to an end. But they acted in the same manner as their predecessors, and hence many from the city joined the ranks of the supporters of Thrasybulos and the latter made serious preparations for a siege.

In this extremity the Ten and the Thirty at Eleusis sent simultaneously to Sparta for help. Lysandros threw his influence into the scale; he and his brother were sent out, and shut in the popular party by land and sea. But King *Pausanias*, his opponent, secured permission to take the field at the head of the Confederates against Athens, and Lysandros was compelled to bow to his authority. Pausanias marched out with the design of reconciling the warring parties at Athens; encouraged by him, the democrats entrusted the Spartans with the settlement of the strife. The Ephors sent to Athens a commission which in concert with Pausanias established peace between the burgesses in the City and those in Peiraieus (403 B.C., seventeen months after Lysandros had marched into Athens). A general amnesty was passed, from which only the Thirty with their creatures and the Ten were excluded in the event of their refusal to give an account of their acts; the adherents of the party were allowed to emigrate into Eleusis.

After the conclusion of the treaty the popular party entered again into the city. First a provisional constitution was set up, under which political powers lay solely in the hands of the members of the three highest classes; then a commission of *Nomothetai* was elected to make out a permanent constitution on the basis of the regulations of Solon. In the same year, that of the archonship of *Eukleides* (403/2), the earlier democratic constitution was in its main features reestablished. This year marks an epoch for the public law of Athens; with it begin the universal employment of the Ionic letters in documents of state, the introduction of a regular procedure in legislation, and the reform of the financial magistracies.

State payment of salaries remained for the present in abeyance, but was renewed a few years later.

In the next fifty years Athens pursued a policy of self-repression; as a member of the Spartan Confederacy it could not think of independent action abroad, and at home the ruling school saw salvation in adherence to the approved traditions of Solon. It is from this standpoint that we must judge an event which has brought much reproach upon Athens, and rightly so—the trial of *Sokrates*. Sokrates was a most ideal character, and his services in furthering the development of the human intellect were enormous; he carried on a practical war against Sophists, and by his activity as a teacher urged the youth of Athens to self-knowledge and to the practice of virtue. Public opinion however classed him with the Sophists, of whom he was a most pronounced opponent. From the Sophistic school had arisen the oligarchic movements; and the public saw in him the teacher of the men who, like Alkibiades and Kritias, had brought Athens to the verge of the abyss. Thus Sokrates in the evening of his life was accused of seducing the youth and importing new gods; too proud to win over his judges, he was condemned to death (spring 399).

§ 28. The Inner Weakness of Sparta

Sparta was not fitted for the leadership of Hellas, owing to its internal condition. The burgesses with full rights had dwindled away to a small number, and the constitution in its general tendency was not calculated to rivet together a wide transmarine dominion. Further difficulties arose from the action of *Lysandros*. After the battle of Aigospotamoi he had laid the foundation of a Spartan empire comprising the Aigaian Sea and the coast of Asia Minor, by establishing in the towns governments of ten men each, or *Dekarchiai*, which were supported by a Spartan garrison under the command of a *Harmostēs*. The subjects had to pay tribute to Sparta. As these local governments were made up of adherents of

Lysandros, the result was that Lysandros was more master in this empire than Sparta. His measureless pride revelled in this position; he caused poets to glorify him, and in the towns festivals were established in his honour and even divine worship was paid to him.

In Sparta there grew up against him a strong opposition, led by King *Pausanias*. On the command of the Ephors the Decarchies were dissolved, although this entailed a weakening of Spartan influence. Lysandros for several years held himself aloof from public affairs, and travelled about. There is a credible tradition that he was inspired with ideas of overthrowing the Spartan constitution. When in 398 King Agis died and it was a matter of dispute whether his son Leotychidas or his brother *Agesilaos* should succeed him, Lysandros enabled the latter to become king. In Agesilaos, who was no longer in the prime of life and was moreover afflicted with a bodily infirmity, he hoped to find a devoted tool.

Not long after the accession of Agesilaos (397) an alarming conspiracy was detected at Sparta. A certain *Kinadon* had put himself into connexion with the men of lesser rights, the citizens of inferior birth, *Perioikoi*, and Helots, with a view to massacre the full burgesses and set up a revolution in the State. The conspiracy was crushed before it could break out. The Confederates too, notably the Thebans and Corinthians, soon grew dissatisfied.

§ 29. Sparta embroiled with Persia

Sources.—Xenophon's *Anabasis* was written after 369; it has the advantage of giving personal reminiscences. Valuable supplements to his *Hellenika* are furnished in Books 13, 14, and 15 by *Diodoros*, who drew upon Ephoros and is better informed as regards Athens. The attempt of Thrasybulos to restore the Attic Empire and the chronology of the Peace of Antalkidas are to be ascertained only from public documents.

The Enterprise of Kyros the Younger.—After the dissolution of the Decarchies the Ionian cities turned for protection

to Kyros, who readily received them. *Kyros*, as gifted as he was fired by burning ambition, nourished great designs; favoured by his mother *Parysatis*, he sought to overthrow his brother King *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, who had risen to the throne a few years before. Although in politics an opponent of the Greeks and inspired with dreams of regenerating the Persian Empire, he was thoroughly imbued with Hellenic culture and realised the necessity of using for his enterprise the military ability of the Greeks.

In the spring of 401 he started on his march. In *Sardes* were concentrated his forces, which gradually grew to about 13,000 Greek mercenaries and a far larger mass of barbarians. Sparta likewise supported him, though not openly. For the present he kept the goal of his march secret from his army, and did not disclose it until they had arrived at the Euphrates. The Persian Court was apprised of his designs by Tissaphernes.

At *Kynaxa* was struck the decisive blow (summer 401); the Greeks were victorious, but Kyros lay dead on the field. The Greek troops had before them the task of making their way home from the heart of Asia. They began the wonderful 'Retreat of the Ten Thousand,' and after eight months reached the Black Sea at *Trapezus* (Trebizond). Thence they made their way through Sinope to Byzantion, and had to suffer much unkindness from the Spartan Harmosts; at last (early in 399) they were taken by Thibron into his service.

War of the Spartans in Asia Minor.—The march of the Ten Thousand had an important effect on the relations of the Persians and Greeks. The military superiority of the Greeks and the weakness of the Persian Empire were instantly made clear; and the previous relation of friendship between Sparta and Persia also underwent a change. After the death of Kyros *Tissaphernes* received the latter's post as a reward for his services, and made ready to reduce the cities of Ionia, which sought help from Sparta. Interference by Sparta was contrary to the treaties concluded by it with the Persians; but Sparta deemed that as the leading Power of

the Greek world it was justified in acting. In the year 400 *Thibron* was sent to Asia Minor with a small army, to which Athens as an ally added its contingent. In the next year he was replaced by *Derkylidas*, who stayed some years. The Spartans' method of warfare, which was determined by their slight forces and mainly consisted of raiding expeditions, was not altered by him.

In 397 the war at length took a turn, owing to Persian preparations by sea which were undertaken under orders from the Great King by the whilom Athenian general *Konon*. On the news of this *Agesilaos*, who had shortly before come to the throne, was entrusted with the supreme command, not without the cooperation of Lysandros, the representative of a vigorous war-policy, who was himself in the king's suite. Agesilaos crossed over in the spring of 396. First he concluded a truce with Tissaphernes. It was now made clear that Lysandros had deceived himself in his expectations; Agesilaos did everything to humiliate him, so that he decided to withdraw and returned home. When the truce expired a formal declaration of war was published by the Persians. The tactics practised by Agesilaos did not greatly differ from those of his predecessors; in 395 however he inflicted on the Persians near *Sardes* a defeat which had for result that Tissaphernes was put to death at the command of the Great King, his place being taken by *Tithraustes*. The fleets also had meantime been moving against each other, and Konon had won Rhodes. Agesilaos marched into the province of Pharnabazos and there embarked on forays; in 394, as a result of the altered situation at home, he was overtaken by a summons to return.

§ 30. The Corinthian War

In Greece the discontent with the supremacy of Sparta had meanwhile come to an outbreak. The hostile feeling of the Thebans had already shewn itself time after time. In 395 there again broke out a frontier-dispute between *Lokris*

and *Phokis*; the Lokrians appealed for help to the Thebans, who burst into Phokis. The Spartans thereupon decided to chastise them for this act. *Lysandros* was despatched to take command of the Phokians, and King *Pausanias* was to follow on with the Peloponnesian levy. Thebes saw its only salvation in winning Athens into alliance. Under the influence of Thrasybulos the Athenians determined to aid Thebes. Lysandros turned against *Haliartos*; before the walls of this town was fought a battle with the Thebans in which he met his death. The Persians, grasping the situation with true insight, planned to establish by means of their agents and abundant supplies of gold a great Coalition against Sparta, which should release them from the war in Asia. *Thebes*, *Athens*, *Corinth*, and *Argos* concluded together a league and set up at Corinth a common Council (*Synedrion*) to deliberate on the war. Nearly all the confederates of Sparta in Central and Northern Greece fell away; a considerable army collected on the Isthmos. Nothing remained for Sparta but to recall *Agesilaos* (early in 394). Whilst he was still on his way home the Spartans were compelled to despatch an army against the confederates, which won a victory in a battle by the *Nemean Brook* near Corinth. Meantime Agesilaos marched onward in haste through Thrace, Macedon, and Thessaly; the enemy sent an army into Boiotia to confront him, but he defeated it at *Koroneia* (August 394).

The Activity of Konon.—The two victories of the Spartans were utterly eclipsed by a disaster which they suffered by sea shortly before the battle at Koroneia. Their admiral *Peisandros* was near *Knidos* defeated by the Persian fleet under the command of *Pharnabazos* and *Konon*; he himself was killed and most of his ships were captured. The islands and cities of the coast of Asia Minor, with the exception of Rhodes, soon fell away, especially as the two generals proclaimed everywhere that the communities were henceforth to be self-governing. In the spring of 393 Konon and Pharnabazos won the Kyklades; the coast of Lakonia was ravaged and Kythera occupied. They then sailed to Corinth, and

Pharnabazos entered into relations with the Synedrion of the League, to which he entrusted supplies of money for the prosecution of the war. On his return he left Konon behind with the fleet, empowering him to assist in rebuilding the Long Walls of Athens. The Athenians had already in 395 set about restoring the fortifications of Peiraieus; now the Long Walls were speedily rebuilt with the aid of the crews of Konon's fleet.

The action of Konon furnished the Spartans with a pretext for entering into diplomatic relations with Persia. They sent Antalkidas to the successor of Pharnabazos, *Tiribazos*, to call his attention to Konon's activity and to request him to pave the way for a peace with the Great King (393). They were so far successful that Tiribazos arrested Konon. The latter escaped to Cyprus; but his part was played out and the potent aid of Persia lost to Athens. In 390 Athens made an alliance with *Euagoras* of *Salamis*, who had revolted against Persia, and despatched a fleet to his aid.

The struggles by land centred chiefly around the possession of Corinth and the Isthmos, whence the name given to the war; in 392 the Spartans won the port of *Lechaion*. After this the tactics by land changed their character; for great decisive battles were substituted forays, and in lieu of citizen-levies mercenary troops were brought in. The use of heavily-armed infantry became of less importance than the handling of light-armed troops or *Peltastai*, an art in the development of which the best service was done by the Attic general *Iphikrates*.

The Enterprises of Thrasybulos.—A turning-point is marked by the enterprises of Thrasybulos in the years 389 and 388. He set sail with a great fleet and made a successful effort to restore the Attic Empire in the exact form which it had had in the fifth century; the cities which went over to him formed a permanent connexion with Athens. A federal tax, 'Thrasybulos' Twentieth,' was imposed on exports and imports, and threatened points were secured by Attic garrisons. Of the places won by Thrasybulos we may mention *Thasos*,

Byzantion, *Kalchedon*, and *Lesbos*. He also introduced anew the toll or 'tenth' on ships leaving the Black Sea. He perished while making an inroad on the southern coast of Asia Minor. The only point still held by Sparta was Abydos.

The Settlement of the War.—Moved by this new expansion of Athens, the Spartans renewed their attempts to approach Persia. Antalkidas was appointed *Nauarchos* in autumn 388; he left the command of the fleet to his deputy and went away to *Tiribazos*, the governor of the western provinces. With the latter he visited the Great King, to obtain his assistance on the basis of the demands previously made by Persia, viz. the abandonment by Sparta of the cities of Asia Minor. Persia had little difficulty in choosing between Athens, which was seeking to found a new Empire, and Sparta. Antalkidas returned to the coast in autumn 387 with a favourable response from the Great King, and on being joined by Persian and Syracusan ships—for Dionysios had just formed an alliance with Sparta—he barred the Hellespontos with a greatly superior fleet.

Athens and its allies were thus constrained to comply with the demand of Tiribazos that it, with the other States, should send envoys to Sardes to receive the terms of peace dictated by Persia. These were as follows. The cities of Asia Minor with the islands of Klazomenai and Cyprus were to belong to the Great King, while on the other hand all the Greek States were to be self-governing, with the exception of Athens' colonies Lemnos, Imbros, and Skyros; the Great King would make war upon those who did not accept these terms. The final settlement of the treaty does not appear to have taken place until the beginning of 386. This 'Peace of Antalkidas' or 'King's Peace' remained for many years the basis of the mutual relations of the Greek States. Sparta, while by it abandoning its compatriots in Asia Minor, won back its leadership, for it was entrusted with the execution of the treaty, and the Peloponnesian Confederacy, which was based on the principle of self-government,

remained in existence. All other leagues, such as the newly created Attic Empire and the Boiotian Confederacy, were dissolved.

§ 31. The Execution of the King's Peace

In its enterprises during the following years Sparta pursued the design of removing all checks to its power both in Peloponnesos and in the rest of Greece, and above all of securing the passage over the Isthmos. First it turned upon two confederate States which on account of their democratic government were not regarded as trustworthy. The first was *Mantinea*, important from its position in the centre of Peloponnesos. It was besieged and forced to surrender by King *Agesipolis*, who dammed up the river flowing through it; the inhabitants had to settle in separate villages. This was probably in the winter of 386/5. The second city was *Phleius*, which at the command of Sparta promised to receive back its exiles and reinstate them in their property (384).

Soon after this an occasion presented itself for Sparta to interfere in the North. In Chalkidike there had been formed under the leadership of *Olynthos* a league of cities which rose rapidly to prosperity and soon became dangerous to Macedon. The Macedonian cities one by one joined it. The league had a uniform organisation; its leaders entered into relations with Boiotia and Athens. A coalition was thus arising which was not without danger to Sparta, especially as Olynthos had at its disposal considerable military forces. But within the league and among those who had not yet entered it there grew up an opposition against the excessive passion of Olynthos for centralisation; in 383 an embassy from *Akanthos* and *Apollonia* appeared in Sparta with a request for support. The meeting of the Peloponnesian Confederacy decided to despatch an army; an advance corps was sent on under *Eudamidas*, who was to be followed by his brother Phoibidas with the remaining troops.

Phoibidas took the field at midsummer 383, and halted at

Thebes. Here a fierce dissension was raging between the friends of Sparta and their opponents; the leaders of the two parties, *Leontiadas* and *Ismenias*, were Polemarchs in this year. Phoibidas is said to have been induced by Leontiadas to seize upon Thebes. He set out under the pretext of continuing his march, then turned back, and was led by Leontiadas to the Kadmeia, which he at once garrisoned. Leontiadas announced the event to the Council and threw Ismenias into prison; the opposite party was too weak for resistance, and fled to Athens. In Sparta a show was made of supreme indignation at the arbitrary action of Phoibidas; but it is quite likely that the design of the surprise originated from the Spartan magistrates, and that Phoibidas had been given orders to seize upon Thebes at a favourable opportunity. Ismenias was brought before a tribunal of the Spartan Confederacy and condemned to death.

The remaining force after the occupation of the Kadmeia had marched on under *Teleutias*, the brother of Agesilaos. The siege of Olynthos lasted from 382 until 379; the Olynthians held their ground and were even capable of aggressive action. Teleutias lost his life and his army was dispersed; a new force had to be sent out under *Agesipolis*. The latter fell sick and died; his successor *Polybiadas* at last was able to force Olynthos to surrender (probably in 379). It was compelled to dissolve its Federal State and enter the Spartan alliance.

Shortly before the capitulation of Olynthos *Phleius* had once again been brought to order. The reduction of Olynthos and Phleius marks the culminating point in the rise of Spartan power.

CHAPTER VIII

The Revolt of Thebes and Athens

Sources.—Besides Xenophon and Diodoros, reference should be made to *Plutarch's* Life of Pelopidas and the biography of Epameinondas by *Cornelius Nepos.*

§ 32. The Liberation of Thebes and the Foundation of the Attic Naval Confederacy

Leontiadas, *Archias*, *Philippos*, and *Hypatas* are mentioned as tyrants of Thebes under the Spartan rule. Its liberation was the work of the refugees in Athens. Some of them succeeded in stealing into Thebes and killing the tyrants; they broke open the jail, armed the prisoners, and called upon the citizens to revolt. The Spartans on the Kadmeia were shut in, an Attic corps that was waiting on the frontier marched rapidly up, and the Spartan Harmost had to capitulate in return for permission to retire unmolested with his arms (December 379). In Sparta the rebellion aroused the utmost exasperation; the Harmost was put to death and an army sent out in the depth of winter. Agesilaos declined to lead it. In his stead King *Kleombrotos* was given the post. Attic troops barred the nearest way into Boiotia, and he was obliged to choose a mountain-path to enter by. Kleombrotos stayed but a short while in Boiotia, and confined himself to marching about; *Sphodrias* was left with a garrison in *Thespiai.* This enterprise however led to a change in the position of parties at Athens. The party unfriendly to Boiotia rose into power, and the two generals who had taken part in the assault on the Kadmeia were condemned to death.

Despite Kleombrotos' lack of success Thebes was not in a position of vantage. But now Sphodrias essayed a *coup de main* upon the Peiraieus (378); the affair however was so clumsily managed by him that it miscarried. For this

seemingly arbitrary conduct he was impeached at home, but acquitted. Thereupon Athens openly joined Thebes and began to entertain the idea of restoring in an altered form its leadership by sea.

The foundation of the *Second Naval Confederacy* belongs to the year of the archon *Nausinikos* (378/7). The number of members was at first small, mainly consisting of those who were already leagued to Athens by special compacts, *Chios*, *Mytilene*, *Methymna*, *Rhodes*, and *Byzantion*, which were joined by *Thebes*. The Athenians proceeded with great prudence; they promised observance of the King's Peace and self-government for the confederates, and they renounced the claim which they had hitherto maintained to the *Kleruchiai*. The purpose of the league was described as rescue from the ambition of Sparta; the Athenians pledged themselves to levy no tribute and to lodge no garrisons in the confederate cities. In place of the tribute 'contributions' (*syntaxeis*) were raised in conformity with the proposals of the Synedrion, and used only for the common objects of the league. A standing *Synedrion* was established to represent the Allies; each State had in it one vote, and the leading State, Athens, took no part in it. At the same time Athens decided to create a strong fleet and an army; to defray the expense an assessment was made and on the basis of this a property-tax was imposed.

The alliance between Athens and Thebes became at once effective when in 378 *Agesilaos* undertook an expedition against Thebes; *Chabrias* came to the rescue with Attic troops. Another campaign by the king in the spring of 377 had no other result than the devastation of the district of Thebes. The effect of Sparta's weakness was seen in the rapid growth of the new Naval Confederacy. In the summer of 377 it was joined by *Chalkis* and the whole island of *Euboia*, to which Chabrias led the first considerable expedition by sea; he also won over some of the Kyklades and several Thracian towns. In the autumn of the same year fell Sparta's last stronghold in Euboia, *Oreos* or *Histiaia*.

The year 376 marks the further decline of Spartan power. In the spring Kleombrotos once again took the field against Thebes; but as he had neglected to garrison in advance the passes of Kithairon he was forced to return. The great blow was struck at sea. The Spartan admiral *Pollis* had taken up a position by Andros, and threatened the line of communication with Athens. A fleet under Chabrias sailed out against him; in September 376 was fought off *Naxos* a battle in which the Spartans suffered an annihilating defeat. The Athenians were now masters of the Aigaian Sea; a number of islands, and notably *Paros*, entered the League.

§ 33. From the Battle of Naxos to the Battle of Leuktra

In the spring of 375 two fleets were despatched to extend the sphere of Attic dominion. One of them, under Konon's son *Timotheos*, sailed to the West. *Korkyra*, *Kephallenia*, *Akarnania*, and *Alketas* prince of the Molossians with his son *Neoptolemos* joined the alliance. The power of Sparta was broken likewise in the Ionian Sea; a Lakonian fleet suffered a defeat at *Alyzia*. No less important were the successes gained by the second fleet, which was despatched to the North under *Chabrias*. A large number of cities and islands on the coasts of *Thrace*, as well as some of the *Kyklades* and the towns of *Lesbos* and the Straits, now entered into alliance.

The power of *Thebes* also expanded greatly; in the period following the battle of Naxos the whole of Boiotia was reduced and welded together in a uniform State. The Boiotians even took aggressive measures against Phokis, and the Spartans were compelled to send out troops under Kleombrotos in order to save their allies. But this very growth of Theban power aroused the jealousy of Athens. In Sparta on the other hand anxiety was caused by the rapid increase in the strength of *Iason* of *Pherai*, who reduced the whole of Thessaly and concluded an alliance with Thebes. This led

in 374 to a peace in which the Naval Confederacy of Athens was recognised by the Spartans.

But this peace was shortlived. On his return *Timotheos* put on shore at *Zakynthos*, where a civil war had broken out, the exiles who had been banished thence; and upon this the Spartans declared the peace infringed. This was not displeasing to them, for an occasion presented itself to interfere in *Korkyra*. In the spring of 373 a fleet under Mnasippos sailed thither and invested Korkyra by land and sea. At the request of Korkyra Athens sent Timotheos to the rescue. He sailed out in April 373; but he met with difficulties in collecting the fleet and the funds of the League in the Aigaian Sea. The Demos grew angry at the delay and deposed him; his place was taken by *Iphikrates* and *Kallistratos*. In the trial which followed his removal from office Timotheos was acquitted. Iphikrates collected the fleet with ruthless severity, and sailed for Korkyra in the autumn of 373; a short time before his arrival Mnasippos had perished and on his death the Spartan ships had sailed away. Iphikrates remained in the Ionian Sea, and made raids on the coast of Peloponnesos.

Athens had now no inclination to go on with the war, especially as the estrangement with Thebes had increased since the latter had attacked and destroyed *Plataiai* in time of peace. At the prompting of the Persian king a general Peace Congress assembled in the summer of 371 at Sparta, which agreed that the garrisons should be withdrawn from the cities, the armies disbanded, and self-govermnent guaranteed anew; in the event of any of these rules being infringed it was open to any State to take measures against the offender. A new quarrel broke out when the oaths were being taken to this treaty; for the Thebans claimed the right to take the oath in the name of the whole of Boiotia, and the Spartans would not agree. Agesilaos declared the Thebans to be excluded from the peace. King *Kleombrotos*, who had been with his army in Phokis ever since 374, was given orders to march into Boiotia and force Thebes to

accept the peace. His first operations were skilfully executed, while the Thebans took the field with little hope. But when they came to an engagement near *Leuktra* (early in July 371), they gained a complete victory by means of the 'crooked order of battle' introduced by *Epameinondas*, who here came for the first time into prominence. The losses of the Spartans were considerable; Kleombrotos also lost his life.

The battle of Leuktra is one of the most important turning-points in Greek history. The military superiority of Thebes was here convincingly displayed. The leadership of Sparta, already seriously contested by Thebes, was now for ever at an end, and was never reestablished. The news of the battle was received with profound astonishment in Greece. As the Spartans maintained themselves in their camp, the Thebans summoned to their aid *Iason* of Pherai, who speedily came up with forces and procured for the Spartans an unmolested withdrawal. The behaviour of Sparta was admirable; no public mourning was held, and fresh preparations were decided on, in which the Allies willingly took part. During the march this army met the troops returning from Leuktra, and thereupon returned home.

CHAPTER IX

The Hegemony of Thebes

§ 34. To the Peace of 365 B.C.

The situation after the battle of Leuktra was utilised by the Athenians for a diplomatic step which was intended to turn the victory of Thebes to their own profit. In the same year Athens convoked a Congress of the Greek cities in order to establish on the basis of the King's Peace a great Confederacy modelled entirely upon the Naval League. The design of Athens was to win over the members of the

Peloponnesian League, who were to be a substitute for the loss of Thebes. The new Confederacy was shortlived.

More important were the results in the Peloponnesos of the battle of Leuktra. The democratic movement hitherto held in check by Sparta now broke out with bloody strife in the various cities of the peninsula, and at the same time an attempt was made to reorganise the Peloponnesos in conformity with it. First the men of *Mantinea* determined to restore their city, in order to settle together in it. From Mantinea began a movement for the unification of *Arkadia*, which was realised in the foundation of *Megalopolis* (370); a Federal Assembly of Ten Thousand held in their hands the supreme power. A portion of the Arkadians remained on the side of Sparta. The feud between the two parties came to an outbreak at *Tegea*, and when the Mantineans interfered on behalf of the Pan-Arkadian party the Spartans despatched an expedition against Mantinea under the aged *Agesilaos*, but with little success (autumn 370). The Arkadians turned first to Athens for aid; as the latter shrank from the undertaking, they made the like request of Thebes, which complied with their summons.

Thebes had made use of its victory to reduce Sparta's last bases in Boiotia and to bring about a union of the regions of Central Greece; *Phokis*, *Lokris*, *Aitolia*, *Akarnania*, and *Euboia* joined the alliance. A stroke of good luck happened to Thebes in the death of *Iason*. He was preparing for a brilliant celebration of the Pythian Games, obviously with the design of making himself master of the Delphian Oracle, when he was there murdered. The guidance of Thebes at this time was in the hands of *Epameinondas* and *Pelopidas*, two men of great ability in generalship and of the purest patriotism; Epameinondas in particular is one of the most remarkable figures in Greek history, although the Panhellenic sentiments often ascribed to him cannot be proved. In the winter of 370/369 he undertook the first campaign into the Peloponnesos. On his arrival in Arkadia the Spartans had already withdrawn; and he was moved by the Arkadians and by invitations from

the Perioikoi to invade Lakonia. He rapidly marched up to Sparta. The unfortified city seemed lost, for even the Helots and Perioikoi fell away; but now Agesilaos took vigorous measures, and Epameinondas did not hazard an attack. In return he dealt a profound blow at Spartan power by restoring *Messenia* to the position of an independent State. In these straits Sparta turned for help to Athens. The latter sent out an army under *Iphikrates*, which seriously pressed the Thebans' line of retreat but put no obstacle in the way of their march over the Isthmos. After his return Epameinondas was prosecuted, as he had exceeded his term of office by a few months; but he was acquitted without a formal vote.

Immediately after this the Spartans sent an embassy to Athens, which established a league of war. The effect of this was at once manifested when Epameinondas at the request of the Arkadians undertook in summer 369 a second campaign in Peloponnesos. The united troops of Athens and Sparta occupied the hills of *Oneion*, and Epameinondas was compelled to take them by storm. The result of this campaign was that Thebes won *Sekyon*. In Thebes it caused dissatisfaction, and Epameinondas was removed from the post of general. At the same time Pelopidas had gone to *Thessaly* and confined the dominion of the tyrant *Alexander* to Pherai. He then marched to Macedon and interfered in the dynastic disputes raging there.

The slight success of this last campaign of Epameinondas loosened the bond between Thebes and its Peloponnesian confederates, especially as there had arisen among the Arkadians a movement, stirred up by *Lykomedes*, of which the aim was to make them independent even of Thebes. Sparta profited by this situation to attempt mediation by means of its confederates, Persia and Syracuse; in the summer of 368 a Peace Congress of the Greek States assembled at *Delphoi*. It came to nothing, as Sparta would not abandon its claims to Messenia. The war began anew, at first between the Spartans and Arkadia and Argos; the former gained the famous 'Tearless Victory,' which however led

to no result. Meanwhile *Pelopidas* went for the second time to *Thessaly* (summer and autumn 368). He was taken prisoner by Alexander of Pherai, and an army that was to free him had to beat a retreat in woeful plight. In 367 Epameinondas was sent out with a new army, and extorted his release without bloodshed.

Under these circumstances Thebes itself sought for peace; by a skilful move it called for the mediation of the Persian king, and tried to draw him over to its side. An embassy under *Pelopidas* went to *Susa*, probably in 367, and effected a complete change in Persian policy; the terms of peace dictated by Persia were wholly to the advantage of Thebes. But the attempt of the latter to realise the peace on this basis failed.

In this selfsame year, 367, Epameinondas embarked on his third campaign into Peloponnesos. Its object, the winning of *Achaia*, was speedily attained, and Thebes would thus have gained a firm footing in Peloponnesos even against Arkadia; but Achaia was soon lost. Epameinondas had left the oligarchic constitutions standing; but on pressure from the Achaian democrats this arrangement was reversed by Thebes, and the oligarchs thereupon combined and won back the Achaian cities, which joined Sparta.

In the year 366/5 occurred an event which profoundly influenced the relations of the Greek States to one another. The frontier-fortress of *Oropos*, on the possession of which Athens had long laid weight, was seized by refugees. When the Athenians sought to recover the town the Thebans declared their intention of holding Oropos until a decision should be given by a court of arbitration. Its Peloponnesian confederates declining to send help, Athens had to yield. The result was that in Athens the hitherto dominant statesmen *Kallistratos* and *Chabrias* were brought to trial, and, though they escaped condemnation, lost all influence. *Lykomedes* profited by this situation to bring about an alliance between Arkadia and Athens. Soon after this *Corinth*, which felt itself unable to bear any longer the burdens of war,

and *Phleius* concluded with the permission of Sparta a peace with Thebes (365). The independence of Messenia was recognised, and in other respects the *status quo* was assured. The treaty was accepted likewise by *Argos*, *Messenia*, and *Arkadia*; Sparta alone remained on terms of war with Thebes.

§ 35. From the Peace of 365 to the Battle of Mantinea

As a result of the peace Thebes for the time left Peloponnesos to its own devices. The ensuing period is filled up by the mutual feuds of the Peloponnesians. The old frontier-disputes between *Elis* and *Arkadia* revived once more. The Arkadians even seized upon Olympia, and in 364 a battle was fought in the sanctuary.

Their association in the war by land had not prevented the Athenians from securing after 371 their position by sea. They aimed particularly at winning *Amphipolis*, and *Iphikrates* was sent out against this town. In 365 *Timotheos* after a siege of ten months reduced *Samos*, which the Persians were occupying. He then gained some important points on the Thracian Chersonnesos, succeeded Iphikrates in the command in Thrace, and reduced *Poteidaia* and *Torone*; *Pydna* and *Methone* likewise joined the alliance. The wise reflexion that leadership called for rule over the seas, as well as the expansion of Athens, led *Epameinondas* to conceive the magnificent idea of creating a navy and destroying the Naval Confederacy of Athens. He entered into relations with the most powerful allies of Athens, and with 100 ships embarked on his first and last cruise, probably in 364. His goal was the Hellespontos, and he also won over *Byzantion*, which however after his return was recovered for Athens by Timotheos.

In the same year *Pelopidas* undertook the third campaign to *Thessaly* against Alexander. He marched out with a small band of volunteers and mercenaries; for on the day of departure there occurred an eclipse of the sun, owing to which

the citizen-levies were stopped from taking the field. He met the tyrant at *Kynoskephalai*; carried away by passion, he rushed wildly at him and was slain, but his troops were victorious. A Theban army came to avenge him; Alexander was forced to abandon Thessaly and do military service.

Within the Arkadian League violent disputes had meantime arisen between the democratic party friendly to Thebes, which had its centre in *Tegea* and dominated the Federal government, and the oligarchs, who were supported by *Mantinea*. The majority in the Federal Assembly inclined to the narrow Home-Rule policy of the oligarchs, and the government of the League therefore turned to Thebes with the request to interfere on their behalf. On the heels of this embassy the Ten Thousand sent another deputation to forbid any interference. The *Arkadians* now concluded peace with *Elis* and surrendered the sanctuary of Olympia. As a token of concord among the Arkadians a great festival of reconciliation was held in *Tegea*. The Theban party, in concert with the commandant of the Theban garrison lying there, profited by this occasion to make an attack upon their opponents, which however miscarried. The Arkadians demanded satisfaction for this at Thebes; but Epameinondas, who was now Boiotarch, rejected the claim and declared that the Thebans would proceed to forcible measures. *Arkadia*, *Elis*, and *Achaia* now joined with one another in a league of war, into which Athens and Sparta entered.

At midsummer 362 Epameinondas set out on his fourth and last march into Peloponnesos. He led with him the whole fighting force of the Confederacy of Central Greece and the Thessalians, and was furthermore reinforced by troops from Argos and friendly Arkadians. The tactics used by him in this campaign were all brilliantly designed, but most of them were thwarted by unforeseen circumstances. At length he resolved on a decisive battle in the plain of *Mantinea* (August 362). By a skilful manœuvre he surprised the enemy while in disorder. The Theban cavalry opened the battle and drove back the Spartan horsemen; then followed

the assault of the 'crooked' infantry-column. The enemy were already in flight when Epameinondas fell fatally wounded; the Thebans then stopped the pursuit.

The significance of Epameinondas' death was seen in the fact that the Thebans' victory led to no adjustment of the questions in dispute which were rending Greece. The Greek States concluded a general peace, Sparta alone remaining outside it (362).

With the death of Epameinondas the hegemony of Thebes was at an end; the Thebans made no attempt to maintain it. The rise of Theban power was a mere episode, with no permanent consequences.

CHAPTER X

The Entrance of Macedon among the States of Greece

Sources.—The only continuous narrative is that contained in the sixteenth book of *Diodoros*. His account of Philip and his age is probably derived for the most part from the work of the Peripatetic *Duris* of Samos (second half of the fourth century and first half of the third century). Duris catered for the entertainment of his readers by tricking out his descriptions with theatrical touches. Some other fragments of Greek history in Diodoros, such as the Social War, seem to have come from *Ephoros*.

A valuable source are the speeches of *Demosthenes* and *Aischines*, which owing to their one-sidedness and misleading colouring are to be used with great caution. Mention should also be made of *Plutarch's* biography of Demosthenes and the first letter of the rhetorician and historian *Dionysios* of Halikarnassos (shortly before the beginning of our era) to Ammaios, which furnishes valuable dates from the Atthidographer *Philochoros* (early third century) for the Demosthenic orations and hence for the Olynthian War.

§ 36. The Expansion of Macedon

Macedon now acquires an authoritative influence over the destinies of the Hellenic peninsula. The ethnographic position of the Macedonians cannot be determined with certainty from the relics of their language; they seem however

to have been nearest of kin to the Greeks. The chief merit in thus elevating Macedon belonged to its royal family; the kingly house boasted Hellenic origin. The traditional policy of the Macedonian kings was directed towards three objects—to gain the coast, possession of which was contested by the Greek Powers, to be recognised as kin of their blood by the Hellenes, and lastly to interfere in the politics of Greece. *Perdikkas II.* had already in the course of the Peloponnesian War aimed at acquiring Chalkidike. To his successor *Archelaos* (414/13–399) are to be traced back the foundations of the subsequent power of Macedon. He built cities and streets, and set about reforming the military system; by the side of the mounted nobility or *Hetairoi* he put the *Pezetairoi*, an army of hoplites formed from the commons on the basis of universal military service. At his court in *Pella* congregated the most eminent poets of the time, such as *Euripides*; he established at *Dion* sports on the model of the panhellenic festivals. After the death of Archelaos Macedon was again brought low by inner disorders, especially dynastic quarrels; the reign of *Amyntas II.* marks a decline. Under the brief rule of his son *Alexander II.*, who for the first time interfered in Thessaly, it enjoyed a short-lived revival. Then the Athenians and Thebans came forward as arbiters, and when *Perdikkas III.* perished in battle against the Illyrians (360/59) the kingdom seemed to be falling to pieces, until his youngest brother *Philip*, son of Amyntas II., took the reins of government into his hands, at first as guardian to his nephew Amyntas.

Philip, born about 383, had lived some years as a hostage in Thebes; there he had not only been imbued with Greek culture but had also come to comprehend the situation of the States of Greece. In him was most perfectly embodied the policy of the royal house of Macedon; brilliantly gifted both as a general and a diplomatist, and possessed at the same time of an energy which shrank from no sort of means, he was thus enabled to approach step by step to his goal, the mastery of Greece. First he overcame the other candidates for the

throne; to clear his rear he conceded to the Athenians their claim to Amphipolis, and then defeated the *Paiones* and *Illyrioi*, who had burst into Macedon.

The efforts of the Athenians by sea in the last few years had had little success, and their management of the war against King *Kotys* in Thrace, which had for its object to gain the Chersonnesos, was not more fortunate; on the other hand they held *Euboia* against Thebes (357). Soon after this there came a prayer for help from *Amphipolis*, which Philip was besieging; in view of his promise the Athenians declined the request (357). Philip conquered the town and kept it. War with Athens was thereby set on foot. Philip at once turned against *Pydna* and took it through treachery (356). He then set about besieging *Poteidaia*, which was then an Attic *Kleruchia*; the town fell, as an Attic squadron was despatched too late. To quieten the Olynthians Philip made over Poteidaia to them. In the same year (356) he gained the whole Thracian district between the Strymon and Nestos with its centre at *Krenides*, which henceforth was styled *Philippoi*; from the mines here he drew rich revenues. On account of Philip's progress King *Ketriporis* of *Thrace* and the princes of *Paionia* and *Illyria* concluded an alliance with Athens against Macedon. It had however but little effect, for Athens was crippled by the defection of its most important Confederates.

The Social War.—Athens and its Confederates had long been estranged from one another. Although the object of the Naval League had ceased to exist, the Allies were nevertheless forced to bear the burden of wars. To this grievance was added the irregular conduct of the Athenians, the foundation of *Kleruchiai*, the arbitrary behaviour of the Attic generals and their mercenary armies, and the want of protection against piracy. *Maussollos*, the prince of *Karia*, who had extended his dominion over the South-West of Asia Minor, profited by this discontent to stir the fire against Athens. In the late summer of 357 the *Social War* broke out; *Chios*, *Rhodes*, and *Byzantion* combined in an alliance,

which was also joined by Maussollos, and set up the standard of revolt. The Athenians despatched *Chares* with a fleet against *Chios*. Whilst he was assaulting the city by land the ships endeavoured to force their way into the harbour, an operation in which *Chabrias* lost his life. The insurgents maintained supremacy by sea, and set about besieging Samos. A great fleet was made ready under the generals *Chares*, *Iphikrates*, *Timotheos*, and *Menekrates* (summer 356), but suffered a reverse at *Embata*. Having been appointed subsequently sole general, Chares entered the service of the rebellious satrap Artabazos, thereby arousing the anger of the king of Persia against Athens. Athens had to submit to a peace by which the revolted communities were permitted to withdraw from the Naval Confederacy (355).

§ 37. Philip's Intervention in Thessaly and Phokis

Events of the ensuing period are the creation of a Macedonian fleet and the conquest of *Methone* (354/3). Soon afterwards an occasion offered itself for Philip to interfere in the affairs of Greece proper. The Aleuadai called him in against the tyrant *Lykophron*, who was in league with the generals of Phokis.

In Central Greece there had arisen (probably in 356/5) the *Sacred War*, which had its origin in the feud between the Thebans and Phokians. A charge had been raised against the latter of having built upon sacred land, and the Amphiktyonia, influenced by Thebes, sentenced them to a heavy fine. They could not pay it, and the Amphiktyones determined to dedicate their land to the god. The Phokians on the other hand organised a vigorous resistance under the leadership of *Philomelos*; they came forward with a claim to the presidency of the Delphic temple. Philomelos was elected general with unlimited powers; he occupied the sanctuary and defeated the Lokrians when they marched up to its relief. He then sent embassies to the Greek States; Sparta and Athens concluded alliances with Phokis. Philomelos pledged him-

self to draw only loans on the treasures of the temple; with the money he collected mercenaries, and took the field against Lokris. The Amphiktyones now resolved on a 'Sacred War' against Phokis; the Boiotians and Thessalians stood at their head. Philomelos suffered a defeat at *Neon*, and in order to escape capture hurled himself down from a rock.

In his stead *Onomarchos* continued the war. He converted the gold and silver of the temple treasures into coin; he also exercised a tyrannical rule and allied himself with the princes of Pherai. He garrisoned the approaches to Thermopylai and dealt heavy blows at the Federal State of Boiotia. In 353/2 the Aleuads summoned *Philip* to their aid; but he was defeated by Onomarchos in two battles, and retreated under difficulties. A second time Philip advanced with superior forces upon Thessaly, and utterly annihilated the Phokians. Onomarchos himself fell; but the war was continued under his brother *Phayllos*. Philip marched on towards Thermopylai; but the Athenians sent a considerable force to confront him, and he was compelled to halt (352). In Thessaly however he was henceforth master.

§ 38. The Case of Olynthos and the Peace of Philokrates

Already before taking part in the Sacred War Philip had won *Abdera* and *Maroneia* in Thrace (354/3). The Athenians in their turn secured their position on the Thracian Chersonnesos by the conquest of *Sestos* (353). After his return from Thessaly Philip undertook a second campaign into *Thrace* (probably in 352). He pressed on as far as the Propontis, and made alliances with *Byzantion*, *Perinthos*, and *Kardia*; but he was compelled by a dangerous illness to break off the war. The rapid growth of Philip's power alarmed *Olynthos*, which was once more at the head of a confederation of States in Chalkidike. Feeling the need of abandoning its position of isolation, it made peace and friendship with Athens, and was even ready for an alliance. In

this condition of affairs the Athenian politician and orator *Demosthenes* came forward for the first time against Philip with his 'First Philippic' (between autumn 352 and spring 351).

Demosthenes was born about 384 of well-to-do parents, after whose death he was defrauded of his estate by knavish guardians. With the utmost steadfastness of purpose he applied himself to the study of rhetoric, of which he attained an extraordinary mastery. He took up the profession of an advocate, and wrote his first orations for private clients. But he soon turned his energies also to a political career; his first political speech, the oration *On the Symmoriai*, belongs to the year 354/3. Demosthenes came forward as a decided partisan of advanced democracy and an opponent of the policy by which Athens was then being guided. Since the end of the Social War the chief influence in Athens was held by *Eubulos*, who represented the interests of property-owners and hence a policy of non-interference in external affairs. Eubulos did good service in many respects; he put an end to the financial disorder of the State and obtained surpluses, which were used for buildings and for the construction of ships. But in order to make his methods popular with the masses he unfortunately was seduced into employing his surpluses to swell the outlay on festivals and games, instead of storing them up as a war-fund. In his oration *For Megalopolis* Demosthenes already put forward a programme of interference in all quarters (353/2). In the same strain he subsequently advocated in his speech *For the Rhodians* the principle of the natural fellowship of all democracies, of which Athens was to be the president (351/50).

Demosthenes' standpoint in these cases shews a complete inability to comprehend the situation and the power of Athens. On his opposition to Philip however a different verdict must be passed. The hegemony of Macedon was indeed a necessity for Greece, and marks a great historical advance beyond the system of petty Home-Rule; but recognition is due to Demosthenes' honest patriotism, his stead-

fastness and dauntlessness in following out his objects. True, he was not always nice in the choice of his means, and, worst of all, he underrated his opponents and overshot the mark which he set up for his country.

The Fall of Olynthos.—In 349 Philip marched against *Olynthos*, whose peace with Athens was contrary to the alliance which it had made with him. The city sent for help to Athens. In support of this request Demosthenes delivered the three *Olynthiac Orations*, in which he attacked most severely the dominant policy for its inertness. But he could not get any decisive measures passed; only a small corps was sent out under *Chares*, with which *Charidemos*, who was at the Hellespontos, operated in concert. The simultaneous campaign into *Euboia* (probably in spring 348), which ended in the loss of the island, crippled the power of Athens. At the renewed prayer of Olynthos however it mobilised in the summer of 348 a levy of burghers under *Chares*; but Olynthos fell through treachery before this force could arrive. It was sacked and destroyed, and its inhabitants sold as slaves. The other cities of Chalkidike had been taken before Olynthos fell; their inhabitants were settled in the district of the Strymon and their country handed over to Macedonian nobles.

The Peace of Philokrates.—The fall of Olynthos made a great impression in Athens, and Demosthenes rose in credit. The leading party endeavoured to do something. On the proposal of Eubulos, envoys went to all the States of Greece in order to call upon them to make a common league against Philip. This boldly designed plan met with difficulties at the very beginning. After Philip's return from Thermopylai *Phayllos* had advanced against Lokris (352). Soon afterwards he died, bequeathing the leadership to his nephew *Phalaikos*. In the war with Boiotia the Phokians proved to be much the stronger. But the rich stores of the sacred treasury were at length exhausted, and then inner dissensions broke out; Phalaikos was deposed, but most of the mercenaries remained loyal to him.

The only hope of saving Central Greece from Philip's impending interference lay in arriving at a reasonable peace with the king. Demosthenes himself moved for this, in concert with his former opponents. On the proposal of *Philokrates*, a prominent member of the party of Eubulos, envoys, among them Demosthenes and Aischines, were deputed to negotiate with Philip the basis of peace (346). But dissension broke out among them. For the first time we meet with a Macedonian party in Athens. Its spokesman was *Aischines*, who in oratorical ability was at least the equal of Demosthenes and in skill as a party-politician surpassed him; it was this very embassy which laid the foundation of the two men's irreconcilable enmity. The often-repeated assertion that Aischines and his adherents were moved to act as they did by bribery on the part of Philip cannot be justified.

While Demosthenes insisted on the protection of the Phokians, Aischines and Philokrates did not trouble about them, but called on Philip to surrender Amphipolis. Philip shewed himself compliant; after the return of Demosthenes a certain date, on his recommendation, was fixed for negotiations with the expected Macedonian embassy, and it was resolved to consider the advisability of an alliance with Philip. On the arrival of the Macedonians Philokrates brought forward a scheme by which peace and alliance were to be made between Athens and Philip and the confederates of both, on the basis of their present position of occupation, thus implying renunciation of Amphipolis; the Phokians were excluded from the peace and thereby surrendered to Philip. Despite the opposition of Demosthenes this scheme was accepted (16th April 346), though with the proviso that the peace should apply also to the Phokians. A second embassy to Philip was sent to bring about their inclusion in the treaty. Once again the envoys failed to agree, and Philip managed to get a clause excluding the Phokians inserted in the treaty; at the same time he concluded a privy compact with the Thebans for the termination of the Phokian War.

During the return of the embassy Philip restored his authority in Thessaly, and set out for Thermopylai; simultaneously a Theban force advanced upon Phokis. In Athens the Assembly of the Commons on receiving the report of the envoys determined to extend the peace and alliance with Philip to his descendants and to take forcible measures against the Phokians if they should not surrender the sanctuary to the Amphiktyones (July 346). Phalaikos thereupon capitulated to Philip on the promise of unmolested withdrawal, and surrendered to him the positions by Thermopylai. The Sacred War was thus at an end.

A meeting of the Amphiktyones assembled at once; it resolved to expel the Phokians from the Amphiktyonia and to transfer their two votes to Philip and his descendants, to disarm the Phokians, and to settle them in open villages; a yearly fine was imposed upon them to make good the loss of the temple treasure stolen by them, and a ban was set upon the refugees. The Thessalians, who were nothing better than subjects of Philip, recovered their former position in the Amphiktyonia. The Pythian Games were magnificently celebrated under the presidency of Philip (autumn 346); as the Athenians took no part in them, envoys were sent to demand of them recognition of Philip's admission. Opposition on the part of Athens would have been madness; Demosthenes successfully counselled compliance.

§ 39. The Subjugation of Greece

In Athens the strife of parties was enkindled anew by the treaty. *Demosthenes* brought forward an impeachment against *Aischines* for his conduct in the embassy (346); but he was compelled to give up the case, as he had been injudicious enough to couple with himself in the prosecution a man of stained character, *Timarchos*. Philip on his side completed his preparations and founded cities; to secure his frontiers he made war on the *Illyrioi* and *Triballoi*. The aim of the efforts of Athens was to have the Peace of Philokrates

modified by the surrender to them of the Thracian towns. Philip on the other hand sought to extend his power to the Peloponnesos, and supported Sparta's adversaries, *Argos*, *Messenia*, and *Arkadia*; the efforts of Demosthenes to bring over these States to the side of Athens came to nothing (344).

The party of Demosthenes brought one after another of their most powerful opponents to trial. Philokrates was attainted for his action on behalf of the peace by *Hypereides*, an able orator and thorough *bon vivant*; he went into banishment before sentence was pronounced (343). *Demosthenes* himself deemed it a favourable occasion to renew his impeachment of *Aischines* for the 'False Embassy'; the trial, which came before the courts in the summer of 343, ended in the acquittal of Aischines, but only by a small majority.

On the proposal of a radical Hotspur, *Hegesippos*, an embassy had shortly before this been despatched to Philip to bring about a revision of the treaty of peace, which would have amounted to its complete subversion. The basis of the *status quo* was to be altered so that each party should retain what 'legally' belonged to it, and all Greek States were to be permitted to subsequently take sides; the surrender of the Thracian towns and the island of Halonnesos was also demanded anew. The king rejected this claim in the bluntest fashion. He did not allow himself to be blinded; he set up rulers devoted to his interests in *Euboia*, in *Eretria*, and *Oreos*, as well as a new king in Epeiros, from which he could exert pressure upon Akarnania and Aitolia. On his return he set about reorganising *Thessaly*, which he divided into *Tetrarchiai*; the most important points were given Macedonian garrisons (342). He nevertheless shewed attentions to the Athenians, as he had in view a new war in Thrace; but his overtures were brusquely rejected.

Philip now embarked on his Thracian War without troubling himself about Athens. This task took up his time until 339. First the district of the Hebros was conquered and secured by colonies, of which the most important was *Philip-*

popolis. This led to a collision with the commander of the Attic fleet in the Thracian Chersonnesos (341). Philip's demand for satisfaction was rejected at the instance of Demosthenes, who delivered then his oration *On the Chersonnesos*. Shortly after this Demosthenes spoke his *Third Philippic*, a powerful advocacy of war, of which the gist was an appeal to the States of Greece to combine against Philip. Henceforth he and his adherents held in their hands the uncontested control over Athens. Demosthenes made journeys to the princes of Thrace and to Byzantion, and concluded an alliance with the latter town, while Hypereides went to Chios and Rhodes. Athens even endeavoured to obtain assistance in money from Artaxerxes III., but here met with a humiliating rebuff. The first success was the liberation of *Oreos* and *Euboia*. Far more important however were the results attained in 340. Demosthenes went to the Peloponnesos and Akarnania, and brought into being a great offensive alliance against Philip under the leadership of Athens. A common treasury was formed, a united army and navy set up, and a Synedrion established. Soon afterwards *Eretria* was taken and the whole of *Euboia* brought into revolt from the Macedonians.

Supported by this Confederacy, Athens could interfere in Philip's Thracian campaign. Philip after reducing the interior turned upon the Greek cities of the coast, and first upon *Perinthos*; here were used for the first time the huge siege-machines which are characteristic of the wars of the Hellenistic age. The city would have been lost but for the support of the neighbouring Persian satraps. Philip abandoned the siege and marched upon *Byzantion*. At the same time he presented an ultimatum to Athens; the Athenians on the proposal of Demosthenes responded to it by declaring the Peace of Philokrates to be broken. A fleet was sent to the aid of Byzantion; Rhodes, Chios, and Kos also rendered assistance. Byzantion defended itself heroically, and on the arrival of a second Attic fleet Philip was forced to desist from his attack (339).

While the king was still away on a campaign against the Scythians, a struggle arose in Greece which led to the final settlement of its destinies. At the meeting of the Amphiktyonia in spring 339 the Lokrians proposed a heavy fine to be laid on the Athenians. *Aischines*, now the deputy for Athens, responded by accusing *Amphissa* of having built upon the sacred territory of Kirrha. The Amphiktyones with their own hands tore down the buildings there, and an extraordinary meeting was summoned which resolved on a Sacred War against Amphissa. Both Athens and Thebes held aloof from this meeting. The war was at first unsuccessful, hence the Amphiktyones in the autumn entrusted Philip with the supreme command.

The king, who had just returned home from his Scythian expedition, at once marched up and occupied *Elateia*, which commanded the entrance into Boiotia. His movements aroused a panic in Athens. Demosthenes alone did not lose his presence of mind. He saw the need of bringing over Thebes to the side of Athens, and betook himself thither with an embassy. He met there envoys from Philip, who were likewise suing for the city's friendship. Thebes however decided in favour of Athens, though at the price of important concessions. The two Powers were joined by the States which had been since 340 in alliance with Athens; an attempt to win over the Peloponnesians failed. The army of Athens and Boiotia at first gained some small successes. In the spring of 338 Philip took the offensive against the West, and destroyed Amphissa; then he entered once more into negotiations with his adversaries, without success. The decisive blow was struck near *Chaironeia* (August or September 338). The Athenians and Boiotians fought magnificently; the victory of the Macedonians was chiefly due to Philip's young son *Alexander*.

In Athens men looked for the worst from their defeat; the ruling party however laboured to keep the war afoot to the last. Meanwhile Philip advanced upon Thebes The Federal State of Boiotia came to an end, and a

Macedonian garrison was lodged in the Kadmeia. Towards Athens however Philip behaved with equal prudence and magnanimity. He opened negotiations by means of a captive, the distinguished orator *Demades*, who henceforth was the pillar of the Macedonian party. As a token of his kindly feeling he released the Attic prisoners of war. A Macedonian embassy brought about the so-called *Peace of Demades*. Athens kept its independence, and remained in unimpaired possession of its land, to which was further added Oropos; it entered into alliance with Philip and declared itself ready to take its share in a Hellenic Confederation. The Naval League however was for ever dissolved.

Philip settled the affairs of Euboia and Phokis, and then marched into Peloponnesos. *Megara*, *Corinth*, which received a garrison, *Epidauros*, *Trozen*, *Argos*, and *Arkadia* went over to him. Sparta alone spurned peace, and forfeited to its neighbours all its possessions except its old Lakonia. A Congress now assembled at *Corinth* to establish the *Hellenic Confederation* (338). A general peace was resolved on, the territories and constitutions of the several States were guaranteed, and all disturbance was threatened with severe punishment. To maintain the common peace a Confederate *Synedrion* was set up in Corinth. The Confederates formed a league of war, of which the leadership was given to Philip as *Hēgemōn*. The Greeks were firmly persuaded that Philip with the forces of the League was ready to begin a national war against Persia.

The moderation which Philip observed was a proof that there was no ground for the fear that his victory might lead to universal revolution. There lay however a danger in a dissension within the royal family which broke out shortly after Philip's return. The king was not happy in his marriage with his hot-tempered wife, the Epeirote princess *Olympias*; he therefore released himself from the tie and wedded young *Kleopatra*, the niece of his friend and general *Attalos*. Upon this not only did Olympias flee to her brother, but the Crown Prince Alexander, who deemed his

right of succession to be imperilled, joined the Illyrians, the enemies of Macedon. Philip prudently took the first step towards a reconciliation, to confirm which it was resolved that his daughter *Kleopatra* should wed her uncle the Molossian king. Before the wedding was celebrated he despatched to the coast of Asia Minor a corps under *Attalos* and *Parmenion*, which had for its task the liberation of the Ionian cities. The marriage was celebrated with much splendour at *Aigai*; but as Philip was entering the theatre he was stabbed by a young Macedonian, Pausanias (midsummer 336). The murderer was cut down; it was said that he did the deed in revenge for an insult done to him by Attalos, but it may well be that he was instigated to it by Olympias.

CHAPTER XI

Sicily in the Fourth Century

Sources.—Dionysios the Elder is discussed by *Diodoros*, Books XIV.-XV. (from Timaios), who is remarkably ill-informed as to the last years of his reign. As to the younger Dionysios information is given by the same writer in Book XVI., where he has drawn for some parts on Ephoros and for others on Timaios; and likewise by the biographies of Dion and Timoleon written by *Plutarch* and *Cornelius Nepos*. In Plutarch use is demonstrably made of Timaios; for the history of Timoleon the simpler account of Diodoros is to be preferred.

§ 40. The Tyrannis of Dionysios the Elder

After concluding peace with Carthage Dionysios secured his dominion by fortifying *Ortygia*, on which he built his castle; he likewise remodelled the citizen-body by admitting freedmen and mercenary soldiers. How little he was minded to observe his treaty with Carthage was soon shewn by his campaign against the *Sikels*, whose right of self-government he had recognised (404). During this there broke out a revolt of the discontented former burgesses, and Dionysios was compelled to return to Syracuse, where with the aid of Campanian mercenaries he was at length victorious. He proceeded to take sweeping measures for the behoof of his

tyrannis; he concluded an alliance with Sparta, disarmed the citizens, and strengthened the fortifications of his castle.

To pave the way for a war of revenge with Carthage, he adopted the old Syracusan policy of conquest against the Chalkidian towns. *Katane*, *Naxos*, and *Leontinoi* were captured, the two last-named communities destroyed, and the citizens of Leontinoi transferred to the capital. To protect Syracuse it was needful to include the plateau within the fortifications; Dionysios executed this great work in a short time. From the fort of *Euryalos* in the extreme west long walls ran on both sides as far as Achradina; the northern wall was constructed in the space of twenty days. Henceforth Syracuse was the strongest Greek fortress and the largest Greek town.

Dionysios now proceeded to make magnificent preparations. For several years work went on at the manufacture of weapons and engines of war, and a fleet of over 300 ships was built. The war was preluded by an anti-Phoenician agitation against the numerous Carthaginian traders in Sicily; then Dionysios attacked the Carthaginian province (probably in 398). From *Eryx*, which surrendered, he turned to invest *Motye*, which lay on an island, and took it by storm.

Whilst in the following year Dionysios was again invading the Carthaginian province, a fleet under *Himilkon* sailed over with a mighty army on board. Himilkon speedily conquered the western extremity of Sicily, and Dionysios withdrew to Syracuse. The Syracusans were worsted by the Punic fleet, and soon afterwards the Sicilian Greeks broke away from Dionysios. The situation underwent so complete a change that now Syracuse was invested both by land and by sea. A pestilence that broke out among the besiegers led up to the decisive blow; it encouraged Dionysios to venture on a brilliantly designed and equally well executed sortie, which ended in a crushing defeat of the Carthaginians. Their fleet was destroyed by fire. On payment of a large sum Dionysios permitted Himilkon to withdraw with his citizen-soldiers; his mercenaries were cut to pieces (397).

The defeat of the Carthaginians had as its result a rebellion of their subjects in Africa; in Sicily their dominion was once more confined to the Phoenician province in the West.

The aim of Dionysios' efforts in the ensuing years was to extend his rule over the whole island. He especially sought to secure the Straits. His designs were opposed by Rhegion; but before he could attack this town a new Carthaginian War broke out (392), which was set on foot by *Magon*, the commander of the Phoenician forces in Sicily. The course of this war is uncertain; it was terminated by a treaty under which Dionysios obtained dominion over the Sikels and over the important and recently founded city of *Tauromenion*.

Dionysios was now concerned to conquer the southern extremity of Italy, and did not shrink from entering into alliance with the Lucanians against his Greek kindred. In 389 he worsted the latter by the river *Elleporos*. Their confederation was broken up, and most of the cities joined him; Rhegion purchased peace with the surrender of its navy. Dionysios soon found a pretext to assail this city anew. The Rhegines were forced to capitulate; the city was probably destroyed and its territory given to Lokroi.

With this the dominion of Dionysios was firmly established at home and abroad; the degree of its importance is shewn by his interference on behalf of Sparta, which had a considerable effect in leading to the conclusion of the King's Peace (387). The Great Power of Syracuse henceforth exercised the same influence on the destinies of the home-country as Persia. The aversion which liberty-loving Greeks felt for Dionysios is displayed in the fact that at the Olympic Games of 384 the general anger all but found vent in an outburst against his embassy to the festival. Dionysios owed his position to himself alone; besides being an able general, he was a politician equal to any situation.

In regard to politics, Dionysios conceived himself to be the leader of an Italic Great Power. He established himself on the Adriatic Sea, which was important for the Greek trade with the North. Here he founded *Ankon* and *Adria* (on the

mouth of the Po), and reached over to the opposite coast of the modern *Dalmatia*. In *Issa* (now *Lissa*) arose a Syracusan settlement. He then leagued himself with the Illyrians and supported the Molossian *Alketas* in his endeavour to return into Epeiros. He likewise attacked *Etruria*, the ancient foe of Syracuse (384), and sacked the temple of *Pyrgoi*.

A third war with Carthage ended (probably in 378) in a treaty unfavourable to Dionysios, by which the frontier of the Carthaginian province was pushed forward as far as the river *Halykos*. Towards the end of his life he renewed the contest with Carthage (368), but died during its course and bequeathed the throne to his son of the same name (367).

§ 41. Dionysios II. and the Liberation of Syracuse

Dionysios the Younger had grown up without being allowed by his father to gain any insight into the government. He was constitutionally not a strong character, and had little fitness for empire. In *Dion*, his father's brother-in-law, he possessed a clear-sighted and disinterested adviser, to whose influence in the first period he willingly yielded. First peace was concluded with Carthage. Dion, who cherished the ideal of an enlightened monarchy, induced Dionysios to summon *Plato* to his court. The young ruler at first listened to the philosopher with eagerness; but soon the court-party under *Philistos* gained influence, and at their instigation Dion was banished and Plato soon afterwards dismissed. The latter came once more in after times to Syracuse, without attaining any further result.

Dion spent the time of his banishment in Greece, where he formed the resolution to return and overthrow the tyrant. He landed with a little band enlisted by him in the Carthaginian province of Sicily (357); thence he marched upon Syracuse, and on his way found many to join him. Dionysios was at the moment away on a naval expedition against the Italian Greeks. The whole of Syracuse rose on the news

of Dion's approach, and the latter made a triumphant entry. Liberty was restored and generals were elected to guide the State. Ortygia alone remained in the possession of Dionysios, who returned a few days later. The tyrant's fleet under *Philistos* now came back from Italy, and gave battle to the Syracusans, who were victorious; Philistos was captured and put to a cruel death. Dionysios escaped to Italy and left his mercenaries behind in Ortygia. Owing to his successful flight quarrels broke out among the conquerors, and Dion was deprived of the office of general. He withdrew to Leontinoi with his mercenaries, who remained faithful to him (356).

Soon after his retirement a general of Dionysios, *Nipsios*, came up with reinforcements; he penetrated by night from the island into the town and gave it over to pillage. The Syracusans saw their only salvation in the recall of Dion. Whilst the latter was on the march the mercenaries of Dionysios set the town on fire, but on his arrival were driven back into Ortygia. Dion was elected commander by land with unlimited powers, while the supreme command by sea was entrusted to *Herakleides*. In 355 Ortygia capitulated. Dion took the government into his hands, and thought seriously of establishing an aristocratic constitution. Being constantly thwarted by Herakleides, he ventured to have him put out of the way. This deed lay heavy on Dion's conscience, and his behaviour became vacillating. He fell into the hands of the Athenian *Kallippos*, a pupil of Plato, who caused him to be murdered (354).

In the ensuing years the government was seized by a succession of despots, of whom none was able to hold out for any length of time, until at last *Dionysios* returned (346). In the other cities of Sicily tyrants also rose up, and a new invasion of the Carthaginians was likewise imminent. The Syracusans of liberty-loving spirit now chose as their general *Hiketas*, the ruler of Leontinoi, and turned to their mother-city *Corinth* with a request to establish order. The Corinthians gave this commission to *Timoleon*, a re-

spected citizen already past the prime of life. He set sail with a little force of volunteers and hired troops (344). In Sicily Hiketas had meanwhile leagued himself with Carthage and made himself master of Syracuse, with the exception of the island. Timoleon escaped the Carthaginian guard-ships in Lower Italy and landed at Tauromenion; after spending here some time he worsted Hiketas, advanced hastily upon Syracuse, and made himself master of a part of the town. Upon this some cities joined Timoleon, and the Corinthians likewise sent him reinforcements; Hiketas on the other hand called in the Carthaginians, who invested Syracuse by sea and by land. As new forces now gathered round Timoleon, the Phoenician commander *Magon* deserted his ally and withdrew into the Carthaginian province. Timoleon thereupon stormed Syracuse, from which Hiketas escaped. Dionysios surrendered Ortygia to him on the promise that he be allowed to live henceforth unmolested in Corinth; there he spent his remaining years in decay.

Syracuse was thus really liberated (343); as evidence of this the citadel, the tyrants' seat, was destroyed. Timoleon then restored the democratic constitution on the basis of Diokles' legislation. As owing to its everlasting wars and distracted condition the city had lost heavily in population, the Corinthians sent forth a summons to all Greeks to settle in Syracuse, and no less than 60,000 new citizens are said then to have joined it. Timoleon continued his activity by either expelling or subjugating the remaining tyrants of Sicily.

The Carthaginians at length despatched another great expedition. Timoleon met them by the river *Krimisos*, in the neighbourhood of Entella (339). They were defeated in an attempt to cross the stream. This attack had encouraged some tyrants to rise up once more; but Carthage soon broke off its connexion with them, and in return obtained favourable terms of peace. The Halykos again became the frontier of the Carthaginian province; in return Carthage recognised the freedom of the Greek cities. After the con-

clusion of the peace the tyrants were overpowered and slain; Timoleon then restored the cities of *Gela* and *Akragas*.

Timoleon now regarded his task as at an end; he resigned his dignities (338) and spent the rest of his life in privacy at Syracuse. When he died (336) the whole people escorted him to the grave.

SECTION IV

THE HELLENISTIC AGE

CHAPTER XII

Alexander the Great

Sources.—The best account of the history of Alexander is the 'Anabasis of Alexander' by *Flavius Arrianus*, a Greek of Asia Minor in the Imperial Age (second century A.D.), who filled high offices in the Roman Empire. His work is based on trustworthy writings, which had for their authorities valuable sources, such as the royal court-journal and the works of *Ptolemaios*, afterwards King of Egypt, and of *Aristobulos*, who had likewise taken part in Alexander's expedition. On the other hand the work of *Quintus Curtius Rufus* (under the Emperor Claudius) presents a narrative composed on rhetorical principles, which however is of importance because it contains much that was derived from other than official sources and betrays a spirit of enmity to Alexander. The fourteenth book of *Diodoros* gives a rounded-off account of Alexander's history couched in the style of Duris. The authority for it has not yet been ascertained with certainty; many have sought to identify him with *Kleitarchos* (end of the fourth century). Supplements are furnished by *Strabon* in his Geography and *Plutarch* in his biography of Alexander; the genuineness of the fragments of Alexander's correspondence which appear in the latter is open to question.

§ 42. To the Fall of the Persian Empire

The superiority of Macedon was chiefly due to the organisation of its army. The heavily armed *Phalanx*, a creation of Philip, was rendered far more than a match for the Greek hoplites by being equipped with the national *Sarissa*, a pike nearly 18 feet in length, and by the depth and closeness of

its formation. Besides this there was the light infantry or *Hypaspistai*, an imitation of the *Peltastai* of Iphikrates. The Macedonian cavalry displayed splendid capacity in Alexander's campaign. Beside the heavily armed troopers it included light horsemen, *Sarissophoroi*. It was recruited from the knightly class, which likewise filled the higher posts of command; the highest rank was taken by the king's adjutants, the *Sōmatophylakes*. The younger generation of the aristocracy was embodied for future service in the corps of the 'King's Young Men.'

The Persian Empire in the fourth century had undergone an unexpected regeneration. Under *Artaxerxes II.*, surnamed *Mnemon*, it had seemed to be falling into dissolution. Egypt had revolted as early as 408, and for sixty years maintained its independence; Euagoras of Cyprus waged a ten years' war with his suzerain; a number of satraps raised revolts in the provinces of the West. The change for the better was brought about by *Artaxerxes III.*, surnamed *Ochos* (from 358). Although he had to contend with a rebellion in Phoenicia, he succeeded in reducing Egypt (344 or 343) after having previously restored the Imperial authority over the insurgent satraps. Ochos was murdered in 337. The greatest influence under him was held by the Rhodian *Mentor* and the eunuch *Bagoas*. The latter set up as king Artaxerxes' son *Arses*, whom he put out of the way in 335 in order to raise to the throne a distant kinsman of the royal family, *Kodomannos*, who assumed the name *Dareios III.* He was a man of no remarkable abilities.

After the death of Philip his son *Alexander*, now twenty years of age, assumed the government under most difficult circumstances; there were beside him other claimants to the throne, and the neighbouring nations began to rise. Hellas imagined that the hour had come to cast off the yoke of Macedon; the *Spartans*, *Arkadians*, *Argives*, and *Eleians* shewed themselves hostile, and Ambrakia drove out its Macedonian garrison. Alexander swiftly took into his hands the reins of government, and thus forestalled the party

of the queen *Kleopatra*; she, her baby son, and her uncle *Attalos*, who was at the head of the troops in Asia Minor, were murdered. The slayers of Philip were likewise punished. Alexander now marched with a mighty army into Greece; *Thessaly* did homage to him, the Amphiktyones gave him the right of succession to his father's dignity, *Thebes* and *Athens* made submission by embassies, and the synod of the Confederacy renewed for him the plenary powers which it had conceded to Philip. Thus he was able in the spring of 335 to turn against the *Thracians* by Mount Haimos; he crossed the mountains, penetrated into the territory of the *Triballoi*, and made an attack upon the *Getai*, then dwelling on the further side of the Danube. A revolt of the Illyrians caused him to turn back; this race too was promptly brought into submission. In the meantime however *Thebes* rose in revolt at a false report of Alexander's death, and the rest of Greece seemed ready to follow this example. In fourteen days Alexander marched into Central Greece. Thebes was taken by storm and on the vote of the Hellenic Synedrion razed to the ground; its inhabitants were sold into slavery. At this judgment the whole of Greece bowed before him. In the autumn of 335 Alexander returned into Macedon with the design of embarking in the next spring upon the national war against Persia which his father had begun.

The corps under *Attalos* and *Parmenion*, which had been in Asia Minor since 336, had found too strong an adversary in *Memnon*, and had been forced to retreat northwards. In the spring of 334 *Alexander* started out on his expedition with the slight force of 30,000 infantry and 5000 horse, including Greek troops of the Confederacy. He took the road along the Thracian coast and crossed the Hellespontos without hindrance from the Persians. He then turned eastwards, where a powerful Persian army under the satraps of the maritime provinces was waiting for him, as Memnon's proposal to draw back and shift the war across to Greece had been rejected. By the river *Granikos* Alexander won his first victory (May or June 334), which had far-reaching

consequences. The whole western coast of Asia Minor fell into his hands. *Sardes* and *Ephesos* submitted; the cities which joined him were given democratic constitutions. He met with resistance first at *Miletos*, which was besieged and stormed. The great Persian fleet could not prevent this; and Alexander on his part did not venture with his slight forces to launch out upon a war by sea, and disbanded his own navy. *Halikarnassos* also had to be taken by siege; it was destroyed. Alexander kept the war on foot during the winter; he reduced *Lykia* and *Pamphylia* and thence marched through *Pisidia* and *Phrygia* to *Gordion*, where he joined hands with *Parmenion*, who meantime had conquered *Great Phrygia*.

Alexander had continued the war without heeding the fact that his communications with his own country were threatened by the Persian fleet. *Memnon* had the design of summoning Greece to revolt, and first endeavoured to detach the islands; but he died in besieging Mytilene, and the attack upon Greece was now abandoned. The Persian fleet however was still mistress of the Aigaian Sea. Alexander set out in the spring of 333 for *Paphlagonia* and *Kappadokia*, whence he marched upon *Kilikia*. Dareios meanwhile collected in Babylon a great host—600,000 men, it is said—and at first proposed to wait there for Alexander; then he decided to go to meet him. On the narrow beach of *Issos*, where the masses of the Persians between the sea and the mountains were unable to open out, a battle was fought in which Alexander won a brilliant victory and Dareios himself gave the signal for flight (October or November 333). The enemy's camp, together with Dareios' mother and wife and an enormous booty, fell into the conqueror's hands.

Alexander forbore to follow Dareios into the interior of the empire and advanced upon *Phoenicia*, which furnished the chief part of the Persian navy. The Phoenician cities surrendered without resistance; their ships in consequence deserted the Persian fleet, and while the latter broke up Alexander was able to form a new navy of Phoenician and

Cyprian craft. *Tyre* alone from religious scruples refused to submit. Favoured by its site on an island, it defended itself against Alexander's investment with the utmost pertinacity for seven months; the capture took place in the summer of 332. From Phoenicia Alexander passed into *Egypt*; with the exception of *Gaza*, which was only taken after a siege, *Palestine* submitted to him. Egypt, in which there were no Persian troops save the garrison of Memphis, received its liberator with open arms, and Alexander responded to this by showing a judicious respect for the Egyptian religion. He here carried out his first and also his most important foundation by planting the city of *Alexandria* in the neighbourhood of the Kanobic mouth of the Nile, a place which henceforth was the channel for the commerce of the East with Greece. From here he visited the oasis of *Ammon*, in order to question the venerable oracle. The priests greeted him as the god's son; henceforth Alexander could appeal to divine support for his schemes of conquest.

After putting again into order the administration of Egypt he returned to Phoenicia in the spring of 331, in order to proceed with the war against *Dareios*. The king brought together in *Babylon* a gigantic army (over a million, it is said), which was chiefly made up of the troops of the Eastern provinces. Instead of checking Alexander in his passage of the rivers, Dareios took up his position on the further side of the Lykos; Alexander was able to cross the Euphrates and Tigris with perfect ease. At *Gaugamela* he came upon the enemy, who deployed their superior forces in the plain without hindrance (1st October 331). The battle, like that of Issos, was decided by the assault of the cavalry, which was led by Alexander himself, and the pursuit of the Persians was carried on into the night. The disaster of Gaugamela (Arbela) led to the final settlement of the war. Henceforth Alexander was no longer content with possessing the western provinces; his object was now the annihilation of the Persian Empire.

Whilst Dareios was fleeing away to Media Alexander

marched on against *Babylon*, which was surrendered to him by the Persian satrap; *Susa*, where the royal treasures were kept, likewise submitted to him. He then set out for *Persia*. The *Uxioi* inhabiting the mountains were conquered, the passes of Persia taken by storm, and both *Persepolis* and *Pasargadai* captured. The royal palaces of Persepolis were burnt down in token of the destruction of the Persian Empire; he then rested for several months. In the spring of 330 he set out by forced marches to pursue Dareios into *Media*, whence the latter with his army had once more fled away. Alexander took possession of *Egbatana*, and at once moved on after Dareios. At *Rhagai* he rested. Soon after his departure thence he learned that a member of the Achaimenid house, the satrap *Bessos* of Bactria, had captured Dareios and was carrying him off. Despite the exhaustion of his men and cattle Alexander gave chase in frantic haste, and at length came up to the Persians; when he was close at hand Bessos and his followers slew Dareios and escaped (July 330).

§ 43. Alexander as Successor of the Achaimenids

In the year 333 the Spartan king *Agis* had entered into relations with the Persian fleet; but after the battle of Issos the idea of a revolt found no support in Greece, especially as the islands passed over to Alexander. It was not until the spring of 331 that a rising broke out in *Peloponnesos*; with *Sparta* were leagued *Achaia*, *Elis*, and *Arkadia*. *Antipatros*, whom Alexander had left behind as regent, was prevented by a revolt in Thrace from immediate interference; after suppressing this he marched into the Peloponnesos and defeated the hostile league near *Megalopolis* (331). Sparta was compelled to give hostages and finally to make a peace with Macedon.

With the death of Dareios the national war of Greece against Persia was terminated. Henceforth Alexander comes forward as a conqueror, as one who should continue the Persian Empire; his aim is the dominion of the world, and

on his side he approaches the Persians, thus becoming estranged from his own circle. As the successor of Dareios he deemed it his duty to pursue his murderers. First he subjugated *Hyrcania* and the warlike *Mardoi*. In *Aria* he received the news that *Bessos*, who had fled to Bactria, had assumed the title of king. Scarcely had he set out in pursuit when he was compelled to turn back on account of a rebellion in Aria, which he speedily crushed. Shortly afterwards occurred an event which throws light on his changed relation to the Macedonians; one of his noblest generals, *Philotas*, son of Parmenion and commander of the cavalry, was accused of an attempt on the life of the king and put to death. *Parmenion*, who had remained in Media, was likewise killed at the king's orders. In his march against Bessos Alexander reached the foot of the *Paropamisos*, where he spent the winter; in the spring of 329 he crossed the mountains with much labour and marched into *Bactria*, whence Bessos had turned away over the Oxus into *Sogdiana*. Alexander passed over the river and captured Bessos, who at last was deserted by his followers; he was afterwards brought to trial, mutilated, and put to death.

Alexander's task was now to reduce the north-eastern frontier-districts of the Persian Empire; this kept him busy until the year 327 and made the heaviest demands on his army. To secure himself against the inroads of the nomad *Scythians* he crossed the river *Iaxartes* and engaged them. He had repeatedly to combat revolts of the natives, and an adversary of unusual pertinacity arose against him in *Spitamenes*. It was in this period that the discontent of his circle was most loudly voiced. This cost the life of one of his most approved generals, *Kleitos*, whom Alexander stabbed in an altercation at a banquet; and in 327 a conspiracy arose among the royal pages, in which a share is said to have been taken also by the court-historian *Kallisthenes*. In Sogdiana Alexander married *Roxane*, the daughter of a native prince. To secure his dominions he founded cities in Bactria and Sogdiana; the most important was *Alexandria* on the Iaxartes.

After carrying out these measures he proceeded against *India*, the fairy-land of the East, the mystery of which had the greatest fascination for the bold conqueror (summer 327). The border-region, the valley of the *Kophen* (Kábul river), was reduced in the same summer and the assistance of the Indian prince *Taxiles* gained. In the spring of 326 Alexander crossed the *Indus* by a bridge and entered India proper; a troublesome opponent rose against him in the powerful prince *Poros*, who was waiting for him on the further side of the *Hydaspes* (Jehlam) with a great army, including elephants. Alexander deceived the enemy by a skilfully executed manœuvre and crossed over the stream. In the ensuing battle he was victorious; Poros surrendered, and was left in possession of his dignity. Alexander now crossed in succession the *Akesines* (Chenáb) and the *Hydraotes* (Ravi). Thus he arrived at the *Hyphasis* (Beas), and prepared to pass over it; but his army, which had been brought to the last stage of exhaustion by its labours and the severity of the climate, refused to follow him, and the king was forced reluctantly to yield.

He then marched back to the Hydaspes, and there caused a fleet to be built in order to sail down to the sea. The voyage, begun late in autumn 326, took him first down the Hydaspes and then down the Akesines, while the land-army followed along both banks of the river. The tribes dwelling here were subdued. In an expedition against the *Malloi* Alexander received a serious wound. At the junction of the Akesines with the Indus he halted and ordered a city to be founded here, doing the same further down the river. The subdued regions by the river were made into satrapies. During the voyage down the Indus the region of its bed was likewise conquered; at *Pattala*, which was designed to be an emporium, Alexander founded a harbour, and thence explored the mouths of the Indus. His enterprise was of the utmost value in opening up India and connecting it with the West; the spirit of Europe now began to influence that country.

In August 325 Alexander began to retire towards the

West. He had already sent in advance a part of the army under *Krateros*, who marched through *Arachosia*; the fleet under *Nearchos* was given orders to sail along the coast through the Persian Gulf up to the mouths of the Euphrates and Tigris. Alexander took the road through *Gedrosia*, the modern Beluchistan, a region in large part desert and ill watered. The march lasted sixty days, and with the heat of the season and the speedily felt want of provisions caused the army inexpressible suffering. The losses in men and beasts of burden were heavy; Alexander is said indeed to have lost three-quarters of his force. He rested at *Pura*, the royal city of Gedrosia; thence he marched to *Karmania*, where Krateros joined him and the army recovered.

From Karmania Alexander went to *Pasargadai*. During his long absence in the East sore disorders had arisen in the empire. Alexander now set to work in a most drastic manner. In the beginning of 324 he arrived at *Susa*, and there stayed some time. As the war was at an end, he passed a series of organising measures. His central idea in them was to weld the Greeks and Macedonians into one nation with the Persians. He had already appointed Persians to be satraps, and his marriage with Roxane was a most significant step towards a union. It was now intended that this should become the rule; in Susa he took to himself two new wives, a daughter of Kodomannos and a daughter of Ochos, and at the same time the most eminent of his *Hetairoi*, about eighty in number, wedded Persian maidens. The king ordered his soldiers to unite themselves with Persian women; more than 10,000 complied. He also paved the way for a complete reorganisation of his army; 30,000 young men from the Asiatic provinces, armed and drilled in Macedonian fashion, were enrolled, and the aristocratic cavalry of the *Hetairoi* had to admit horsemen from the regions of the North-East. The feeling of the Macedonian troops was thereby excited to the highest pitch, although Alexander had a short time before paid their debts from his own treasury. At *Opis* on the Tigris, when Alexander proposed to dismiss

his veterans to their own homes, an open mutiny broke out in the summer of 324; it ended indeed in a reconciliation, but the dismissal of the time-expired men was carried out, and their place was taken by Persians.

At his court also Alexander introduced Persian fashions; he had already brought noble Persians into his suite and often put on Persian dress. At the zenith of his success he felt himself released from the need of preserving his former regard for the Greek States. In 324 he called upon them to pay him divine honours, and most of them actually made this concession; what was still more important, he ordered the recall of the exiles into their native cities, and by this measure created for himself a party of loyal supporters.

From Opis Alexander went to *Media*, where his favourite *Hephaistion* suddenly died at Egbatana; Alexander gave him a magnificent burial. After an expedition against the *Kossaioi* he betook himself in the spring of 323 to *Babylon*; even before his arrival embassies appeared from distant countries to do homage to him, and among them are said to have been the Romans. In Babylon Alexander was energetically busied with great designs; he had in view a naval expedition to Arabia and is said to have been inspired with the idea of a campaign against Carthage. The hindrances to navigation down the Tigris had already been removed in the year before; he now built a great harbour at Babylon and regulated the canal of Pallakopas. He also proceeded to organise the infantry anew from both Persians and Greeks. The fleet and the army were ready to set out when the king fell sick of a fever after a banquet; the disease speedily grew worse, and after twelve days Alexander died in the thirty-third year of his life (June 323).

Although by origin not a Greek in the strict sense of the word, he was the most remarkable figure that Greece produced; genius has seldom displayed itself in such a degree as with him. He unhinged the whole contemporary world, and pointed out to the following age the paths it was to tread for centuries; by spreading Grecian culture over the East he

paved the way for the subsequent development of the ancient world. His personal valour was surpassed only by his insight as a general. His creative genius was best shewn in his work as a statesman. As his organisations are only imperfectly known and many designs were prevented from accomplishment by his early death, we cannot pass a final judgment; but his foundations of cities and his great and universally beneficent undertakings on the Indus and Euphrates attest a will and a power of equal grandeur.

CHAPTER XIII

The Diadochoi

Sources.—Diodoros' Books XVIII.–XX., and the fragments of Book XXI. are our chief account; besides this there are Books XIII.–XXIV. of *Justinus* (an excerpt from the Universal History composed at the beginning of the Imperial Age by Pompeius Trogus). Recently too a small fragment has been found of *Arrian's* history of the years following Alexander's death. In the parts mentioned Diodoros, in addition to another source, has drawn upon the lost work (reaching down from Alexander's death to at least 266) of the important and trustworthy historian *Hieronymos* of Kardia, a confidant of Eumenes, who later joined Antigonos Gonatas. These are further supplemented by *Plutarch's* biographies of Eumenes and Demetrios. The story of Agathokles is told by *Diodoros* from Book XIX. onwards; besides Timaios, he had before him a monograph on Agathokles by *Duris*. On Pyrrhos in Italy and Sicily compare Diodoros in the fragments of Book XXII. and *Plutarch's* biography; both drew on Timaios.

§ 44. To the Division of the Empire

The Struggle for the Unity of the Empire.—On the unexpected death of Alexander the Macedonians were confronted with the task of making provision for the continuance of the imperial government, for which Alexander had made no dispositions. The dignitaries present in Babylon, on an understanding with the cavalry, resolved to confer upon *Perdikkas* the regency and the supreme command over the army (323). But the infantry offered a resistance, and the nobles were forced to acknowledge as king Alexander's feeble-

minded brother *Philip Arrhidaios*, with a reservation of rights for the child to which Roxane was expecting to give birth; Perdikkas however retained his rank. The supreme guidance of Macedon and Greece was held by *Antipatros*, with whom was now associated *Krateros*; the other confidants of Alexander divided among themselves the government of the provinces. *Ptolemaios* became satrap of Egypt, *Eumenes*, the only Greek and Alexander's private secretary, satrap of Kappadokia and Paphlagonia, *Antigonos* satrap of Great Phrygia, and *Lysimachos* of Thrace. Soon afterwards Roxane gave birth to a son; he received the name of *Alexander* and the rank of king by the side of Arrhidaios.

Alexander's death gave occasion for a serious movement in Greece. During his lifetime his faithless treasurer *Harpalos* had fled to Athens with the design of rousing the Greeks to revolt; but he soon came to his death. His treasures were preserved at Athens, and the fact that they did not remain unfingered led to an impeachment of Athenian politicians, among them *Demosthenes*, who was condemned and withdrew from Athens (324/3). Athens disobeyed Alexander's command to receive back its exiles, and after his death rose in open revolt against Macedonian rule, taking into its service the mercenary captain *Leosthenes*, who barred the pass of Thermopylai. *Antipatros*, who had not a sufficient force at hand, was shut up in Lamia, whence the war is known as the *Lamian War* (323/2); almost the whole of Central Greece and a part of Peloponnesos revolted, and Demosthenes was recalled to Athens. The tide turned when Leonnatos and Krateros marched from Asia Minor to the aid of Antipatros, who now defeated the Greeks near *Krannon* (322). Athens was compelled to receive a Macedonian garrison and set up a timocratic constitution. The leaders of the anti-Macedonian party fled away and in their absence were condemned to death; *Demosthenes* poisoned himself and *Hypereides* was executed by Antipatros.

While these events were still going on, discord arose among the rulers. On the one side stood *Perdikkas* and

Eumenes, who were in alliance with Alexander's mother *Olympias*, on the other side *Antipatros* and the satraps *Antigonos* and *Ptolemaios*, whose aim it was to withdraw themselves from the authority of the Regent. Whilst Perdikkas advanced against Ptolemaios, *Antipatros* and *Krateros* marched against *Eumenes*. The latter was victorious, and Krateros fell in the battle; on the other hand the assault of Perdikkas upon Egypt proved a failure, and he himself was slain by his troops (321).

At a meeting of the governors in *Triparadeisos* (321) a new division of dignities was made. The place of Perdikkas as Regent was taken by *Antipatros*, *Antigonos* received supreme command of the royal army, and Antipatros' son *Kassandros* was set by his side. Here *Seleukos* came for the first time into prominence; to him was given the satrapy of Babylon. Eumenes had previously been condemned to death; now Antigonos marched against him, and after a defeat Eumenes had to flee to the mountain-stronghold *Nora* in Kappadokia, where he remained for more than a year.

When in 319 the aged Antipatros died, fresh disorders broke out. Antipatros had appointed as his successor in the regency not his son but his friend *Polyperchon*. Kassandros consequently leagued himself with Antigonos, whose strivings for sole dominion henceforth became more and more patent. On the other hand *Polyperchon*, who had on his side the authority of the satraps, sought support from Olympias and the Greek cities, to which the democratic constitutions swept away by Antipatros were now restored. *Eumenes* was courted on both sides; an unselfish champion of the unity of the empire, he cast in his lot with Olympias and Polyperchon, and began war against Antigonos. But Polyperchon's endeavour to win over the Greeks failed; he was worsted by the fleet of Antigonos, and Athens submitted to Kassandros, who appointed *Demetrios of Phaleron* head of the city; the Peloponnesos likewise fell in great part into the hands of Kassandros (317).

In the royal family fatal dissensions broke out between

Olympias and *Eurydike*, the wife of King Philip; and when the latter endeavoured to take the government into her own hands she and her husband were slain. *Kassandros* now advanced into Macedon against Olympias and Polyperchon. He shut in the queen at *Pydna* and compelled her to surrender. Macedon thereupon submitted to him; Polyperchon fled away, and Olympias was murdered (316). In the meantime *Antigonos* had marched against *Eumenes*. That prudent and energetic commander held his ground in the East, in Susiana and Media, and gained considerable military successes; but he was not absolutely certain of the loyalty of his Macedonian troops, and in the end was delivered over by them to Antigonos, who put him to death (316).

The Strivings of Antigonos for Sole Monarchy.—After the death of Olympias and Eumenes the struggles centred no more upon the rights of the royal house; for more than ten years to come the question at issue was whether the supreme power was to fall into the hands of *Antigonos* or not. The latter had carried away the lion's share from the previous contests; he was master of Asia and possessor of the royal treasures. He was now confronted by a general alliance of his former allies, *Kassandros*, *Lysimachos*, and *Ptolemaios*; with the last-named *Seleukos* had taken refuge on being driven by Antigonos from Babylon. *Antigonos* on his side entered into a league with *Polyperchon* and his son *Alexander*. The war lasted from 315 until 311; it was carried on in Asia, especially in Syria, between Antigonos and Ptolemaios, and at the same time in Greece between Kassandros and his adversaries the Aitolians and Boiotians, and on the whole its course was favourable to Antigonos, until his son *Demetrios* met with a severe defeat from Ptolemaios near *Gaza* (312). The result was that Seleukos once again made himself master of Babylon; 312 is accounted the first year of the rule of the Seleukid dynasty. In the following year (311) a peace was made, by which the conditions that had prevailed before the outbreak of the war were in the main restored, except that *Kassandros* demanded to be recognised as Regent of

Macedon and Greece, his term of office to expire when the young Alexander should be grown up. Immediately after this he caused the king and his mother *Roxane* to be murdered. Such was the end of the royal family of Macedon.

Hostilities began anew in 310 between *Antigonos* and *Ptolemaios* in Kilikia and Cyprus. Polyperchon on his side elevated *Herakles*, a bastard son of Alexander the Great, but soon put him out of the way when Kassandros offered him as the price of this deed the command of Peloponnesos. In the ensuing years *Ptolemaios* not only made progress on the southern coasts of Asia Minor but also gained a footing in Greece itself. Antigonos at length sent over his son *Demetrios*, who took Athens by assault; Demetrios of Phaleron left the city, the Macedonian garrison was driven out of Munichia, and democracy was restored (307). The liberated Athenians paid divine honours to Antigonos and Demetrios, and their names were given to two newly established Tribes.

Demetrios stayed for some time in Athens. In the spring of 306 he sailed away by his father's orders to liberate Cyprus from the Egyptians. At *Salamis* he gained a brilliant victory by sea over Ptolemaios, by which he secured the possession of the island. On receiving the news of it Antigonos assumed the title of King. The other rulers, *Kassandros*, *Ptolemaios*, *Lysimachos*, and *Seleukos*, did the same; and thus was swept away the pretence that Alexander's empire still lived on. *Antigonos* had worse fortune in his attempt to assault *Egypt* (306). By way of compensation he proceeded against the powerful city of *Rhodes*, which had refused to support him against Ptolemaios. Demetrios with a powerful force undertook the investment of the town, which lasted a year (305–4); he made use of his military engines and the other instruments of that renowned skill in siege-warfare which procured for him the surname of *Poliorketes*, but met with the stoutest resistance. Peace was concluded on terms honourable to Rhodes.

Demetrios returned to Greece, which in the interim had

been almost entirely lost. He drove the troops of Kassandros from the Peloponnesos and united the States of Greece in a league in which he and Antigonos took the leading place (303). In the following year he purposed to proceed to an assault upon Macedon; but *Kassandros*, *Lysimachos*, *Ptolemaios*, and *Seleukos* leagued themselves together anew against him and Antigonos. The war was set on foot by *Lysimachos*, who crossed over to Asia Minor in the spring of 302 and speedily gained the western part of it. *Antigonos* marched against him without venturing upon an engagement, and sent instructions to Demetrios to return into Asia. The latter won back the western coasts. In the spring of 301 *Seleukos* and *Lysimachos* united; at *Ipsos* in Phrygia was fought the decisive battle, in which Antigonos was worsted and lost his life, while Demetrios escaped.

The death of Antigonos put a stop for ever to the efforts of an individual to appropriate the whole dominion of Alexander. For the collective Empire were now substituted the minor States emerging out of it, which lasted on until their absorption in the realm of Rome. The lands of Antigonos were parcelled out among the conquerors; *Seleukos* came into possession of *Syria* and *Great Phrygia*, *Lysimachos* received the western coast of *Asia Minor*, and *Kassandros* was confirmed in his dominion over *Macedon* and *Greece*. *Ptolemaios*, who by chance had taken no part in the last struggles, came away with empty hands.

§ 45. To the Final Establishment of the Hellenistic Dynasties (276/5)

The Wars of Demetrios.—In spite of the disaster at Ipsos *Demetrios* through his fleet was still in possession of a considerable power. He hoped to retain at least his command of Greece. Athens however broke away from him, and the larger part of the Greek cities followed this example; hence in the ensuing period he was almost entirely confined to the sea. His prospects soon became more favourable when

quarrels broke out between the whilom allies *Ptolemaios* and *Seleukos* over the possession of Koile-Syria; Seleukos now leagued himself with Demetrios and aided him to gain *Kilikia*. War however did not ensue; seemingly a general reconciliation of the potentates took place.

Demetrios persisted in his endeavours to win back Greece, especially after *Kassandros* had died and left behind him successors of small ability (297/6). In Athens a violent tyranny was exercised by *Lachares* (probably from 296/5); Demetrios turned against him and invested the city by land and sea. After the flight of Lachares Athens surrendered (March 294). Demetrios behaved mercifully and restored the democracy; but the most important points in the town remained in the occupation of his troops. His rise crossed the plans of the other kings; when he proceeded against the Peloponnesos they combined for a general assault upon his Asiatic possessions. Demetrios did nothing to save them. He went to *Macedon*, where an opportunity presented itself to make good the loss. He thrust aside the sons of Kassandros and was acknowledged as king; Thessaly likewise submitted to him (293). *Lysimachos* could not interfere, for he was busy beating off the *Getai*. Demetrios was now master of Macedon and nearly the whole of Greece, and ruled the sea.

A rival arose against him in *Pyrrhos*, who with the aid of Ptolemaios had recovered his ancestral throne of *Epeiros* and was of as restless a nature as Demetrios himself. In 289 a war broke out between them, in which Demetrios suffered a decided defeat which sorely weakened his position. Whilst he was preparing to follow out a fantastic plan for the conquest of Asia, *Pyrrhos* burst into *Macedon* and won it without difficulty (287). Demetrios' hold on Greece was thereby enfeebled. The Athenians drove out his garrison and gallantly withstood his assaults. On the approach of Pyrrhos Demetrios abandoned the siege of Athens; he concluded a treaty with the Epeirotes and crossed over into Asia. At first fortune favoured him; but when he penetrated into the

interior, into the territory of *Seleukos*, his army fell into sore straits and finally he was driven to capitulate (285). He was put into custody at *Apamea*, where he died three years after.

Demetrios is one of the most remarkable figures of his age, a true adventurer, the type of the Condottiere-King who with the support of his army wins supremacy in different countries and loses it again when the bond of union with his subjects is broken. With all his brilliant endowments he lacked coolness and restraint; and moreover he was not proof against licentious passion.

The Rule of Antigonos Gonatas established in Macedon.— Demetrios' son *Antigonos*, surnamed *Gonatas*, endeavoured to hold his ground in Greece. After the capture of Demetrios a quarrel had arisen between *Pyrrhos* and *Lysimachos*, and the latter succeeded in driving Pyrrhos out of Macedon (285). He had thus attained in advanced years to the highest power in Europe; but this was soon lost through discords in his house. Ptolemaios excluded his eldest son, the brutal *Ptolemaios Keraunos*, from the succession, and the latter betook himself to his brother-in-law Lysimachos. At his instigation Lysimachos caused his eldest son to be murdered. He thereby alienated the other monarchs; *Seleukos* began a war with him, and at the battle of *Kurupedion* in Hellespontine Phrygia Lysimachos lost his life (281). The victor, leaving to his son *Antiochos* the command of Asia, crossed over into Europe, and was there murdered by Keraunos, who then established himself in possession of *Thrace* and *Macedon*. The endeavour of Antigonos to make good his claims to Macedon was for the time fruitless; he had to content himself with his possessions in Greece. Pyrrhos complied with a summons to aid Tarentum against the Romans.

A tremendous reaction in the affairs of Greece and Macedon was brought about by a peril that arrived unexpectedly from without. The *Kelts* burst into *Thrace* and *Macedon* (279). *Keraunos* fell in battle against them. In 278 a new advance was made against Greece. The forces

of the Greek States offered a resistance at Thermopylai; at *Delphoi* the Kelts were cut to pieces, and the survivors withdrew. Antigonos Gonatas defeated the barbarians at Lysimacheia on the Thracian Chersonnesos, thus earning the gratitude of the Macedonians; he was recognised as king (276/5), and his dynasty lasted on until the rule of Rome.

Agathokles of Syracuse.—It was about this selfsame time that the attempt of *Pyrrhos* to establish a dominion in the West miscarried. The affairs of Sicily were soon in disorder again after Timoleon's death. In Syracuse party-feuds raged without cease, furnishing the Carthaginians with opportunities for interference. At length a talented and warlike man of low birth, *Agathokles*, succeeded by a *coup d'état* in raising himself to the position of tyrant (317/16). He remained in power until his death, being supported by his mercenaries and the mob, with whose aid he had risen and who regarded him as one of themselves. At the outset he had to contend not only against his escaped adversaries but likewise against the Carthaginians, both having combined against him; and his attempts to gain the cities of the island which were not subject to Syracuse were also at first fruitless. However he attained his object, and won recognition of the predominance of Syracuse over Sicily (313).

Soon afterwards there arose a new war waged against him by the exiles under *Deinokrates* and the *Carthaginians*, in which he suffered a heavy defeat at *Eknomos* (310). The Carthaginians proceeded to besiege Syracuse; in order to draw them off Agathokles formed the bold resolution to cross over into *Africa* and assail them in their own country. His African enterprise lasted for more than three years. It failed indeed of the designed effect, for the Carthaginians persisted in their investment of Syracuse; but the tyrant won at first considerable successes, worsted the enemy, and conquered a wide territory. He gained the support of the ruler of Kyrene, *Ophelas*, who joined him with his army;

but Agathokles soon put him out of the way, and the forces of Kyrene thereupon entered his service. The African campaign however remained without results. After a defeat Agathokles escaped to Syracuse; the army left behind by him capitulated to the Carthaginians (307). Agathokles concluded a favourable peace with the Carthaginians, who were confined to their province in the West. He then defeated the exiles; the survivors, among them Deinokrates, were given leave to return home (305).

Henceforth the rule of Agathokles over Sicily was firmly established; in token of this he assumed the title of King. Whereas he had hitherto been prone to deeds of the utmost cruelty, he now shewed himself a mild and talented ruler, and cared for the welfare of the island, which rose to new prosperity. With the strong forces which he had at his disposal he interfered in the affairs of Italy (about 300) and came forward as the protector of his Grecian kindred against the Lucanians and Brettians who were pressing upon them. He liberated *Korkyra* from Kassandros (299) and gave it afterwards to *Pyrrhos*, who became his son-in-law.

Pyrrhos in Italy and Sicily.—Agathokles died in 289, and in the last period of his life is said to have been moved by bloody dissensions in his family to appoint his people to be the heirs of his kingship. After his death great confusion prevailed. The Carthaginians also interfered again, and the Campanian mercenaries settled in Sicily by Agathokles, the *Mamertini*, seized upon Messana. A change was first effected by Pyrrhos.

After being driven out of Macedon *Pyrrhos* had been confined to Epeiros; but his ambition did not suffer him to remain quiet for long. An opportunity for a new enterprise presented itself when the *Tarentines*, who had fallen to quarrelling with *Rome*, elected him their leader (281). Pyrrhos came with strong forces, and worsted the Romans at *Herakleia* (280) and *Asculum* (279). He apparently

became estranged from his Italic allies, and willingly complied with a summons from the democrats of Sicily (278). Not only Syracuse but the other important points in the island likewise submitted to him. He then advanced against the Carthaginian province; *Eryx* and *Panormos* were taken by storm, and Pyrrhos thereupon took the title of King of Sicily. *Lilybaion* alone resisted his assaults. This led to a change in the hitherto friendly feeling towards him; his design of making great preparations to meet the Carthaginians was opposed by the Greeks of Sicily, upon which Pyrrhos assumed the bearing of a complete tyrant. At length he abandoned Sicily to its fate and returned to Italy, where in the meantime the Romans had made great progress. His former good luck deserted him; he was worsted by them at *Beneventum* (275). He then withdrew privily to Epeiros with his army. In 272 Tarentum fell into the hands of Rome.

CHAPTER XIV

The Epigonoi

§ 46. The Kingdom of Macedon and the Greek Leagues

Sources.—For the period of the Greek Leagues the most valuable source is *Polybios*. Born at Megalopolis in Arkadia about 210 B.C., he came as a hostage to Rome, where he entered the circle of the Scipios and clearly recognised the importance of Rome; after 146 he carried out with great caution the new organisation of Greece. His great work, for which he prepared himself by thorough researches, was meant to show how Rome attained the dominion of the world; it comprehended the period from 264 (in detail only from 221) until 144 B.C. Only the first five books are completely preserved, the rest surviving in fragments. His history takes high rank from his catholic standpoint, the trustworthiness of his researches, and his admirable narrative; in Greek affairs the author's judgment is warped by his one-sided sympathy with the Achaians.

Besides Polybios, notice is claimed by *Plutarch's* biography of Aratos, for which the memoirs of that statesman were drawn upon. For Agis

and Kleomenes we have also biographies by Plutarch, who seems in them to have followed the work of *Phylarchos*, a partisan of Kleomenes.

Pyrrhos after his return renewed at once his endeavours to recover *Macedon*. The army of Antigonos went over to him, and the latter was compelled to abandon Macedon (274). Pyrrhos however lacked the gift of retaining what he had won. He undertook an expedition into the Peloponnesos against Sparta; during its course Antigonos took possession of Macedon. The assault of Pyrrhos upon the city of Sparta was repulsed, and he then turned against *Argos*; there he met his death in a street-fight (autumn 272).

The efforts of *Antigonos* to extend his influence over Hellas met with a powerful opponent in the Egyptian king *Ptolemaios Philadelphos*, who aimed at the command of the Aigaian Sea and in particular established friendly relations with Athens. Under his protection arose an alliance which was joined by *Athens*, *Sparta*, *Elis*, *Achaia*, and several cities of *Arkadia*, besides Egypt. The so-called *Chremonidean War* (beginning probably in 268/7) led to a settlement of affairs. *Antigonos* defeated the Peloponnesian army at *Corinth*; after a siege of some length Athens was forced to capitulate and receive a Macedonian garrison (263). The successes of Antigonos were crowned by a great naval victory over the Egyptian fleet off *Kos*. His rule however was not exempt from further disturbances. His nephew *Alexander* gained an independent position in Peloponnesos, and new political growths rose up which worked in opposition to the leadership of Macedon.

These were the first Greek leagues which, unlike the earlier *Symmachiai*, established a federal law holding good for all federated States and all burgesses alike. Among them the *Aitolian League* attained a lesser importance; it is mentioned for the first time in 314, but probably was in existence earlier. It soon gained for its centre *Delphoi*, in the defence of which against the Kelts the Aitolians took an honourable part. They gradually extended their league over *Phokis*, *Lokris*, *Doris*, the *Ainianes*, and part of *Akarnania*; their relations with Antigonos were friendly. The constitution of the Aitolians indicates a considerable advance. The supreme power rested in a Federal

Assembly convened regularly once every year, which also appointed the magistrates; at the head of the League stood a *Strategos*, who had as his subordinates other officials, the *Hipparchos*, the *State Secretary*, the *Treasurer*, and a standing Federal Council of *Apoklētoi*.

Of greater importance is the *Achaian League*. The foundation of this alliance was laid in 281 by a combination of four cities; gradually their number grew to ten. The constitution of this league rested on a basis similar to that of the Aitolians. All burgesses had admission to the Federal Assembly. The officers of the League were the *Strategos* (two of them in the first period), the *Hipparchos*, the *Nauarchos*, the *State Secretary* and the Federal Council, a board called *Dāmiūrgoi*. The civic constitutions of the federated cities had a similar character.

Aratos of Sekyon.—From the middle of the third century the Achaian League underwent a great expansion, thanks to the services rendered to it by *Aratos*. Tyrants had risen up in the cities of Peloponnesos; Aratos liberated his native city of *Sekyon*, which joined the Achaian League (251/0). This led to the acquisition of a number of important places, —Corinth, Megara, Epidauros, and Trozen. Aratos, who repeatedly held the office of *Strategos*, was the soul of the League; on his motion an alliance was concluded with Egypt, whose king *Ptolemaios Euergetes* was then undertaking a brilliant campaign of conquest in Asia Minor. *Antigonos* on his part formed an alliance with the Aitolians, who extended their territory over Boiotia. Antigonos died in 239; under his son *Demetrios II.* (239–29) the friendly relations with the Aitolians were broken. In the *Demetrian War* they were worsted and lost Boiotia.

Under Demetrios and during the first years of King *Antigonos Doson* (229–21/20) the Achaian League attained its zenith, as the petty tyrants in Peloponnesos, who hitherto had rested on the support of Macedon, abandoned their rule and joined the king. Even Athens entered into friendly relations with the Achaians, after the Macedonian commandant had been induced by bribery to evacuate the points hitherto occupied by his troops (229). The greater part of Peloponnesos belonged henceforth to the Achaian League; but at this same time some cities of Arkadia severed themselves from it and turned to the Aitolians.

Agis and Kleomenes of Sparta.—During the whole of this period Sparta stood aloof, until unexpected attempts were made to regenerate the decaying State and recover for it a position of leadership. The number of full burgesses of Sparta had shrunk to 700; most of them were in poor circumstances, whilst property had accumulated in the hands of a few. In consequence also of the unequal distribution of wealth the class of possessors of political rights became ever narrower. In opposition to this a reforming movement arose, of which the champion was the young King *Agis* (from about 245), and which sought to remedy these disorders by reverting to the old 'Lykurgean' institutions. In 243 were brought forward proposals of the reforming party which aimed at remitting debts, increasing the citizen-body, and parcelling out the land anew; but they were rejected by the Gerusia. Agis and his supporters thereupon expelled the opponents of reform; but while Agis was absent on a campaign against the Aitolians his associates began a series of outrageous blunders, so that on his return he soon fell before the party of reaction and was murdered (241).

Some time afterwards *Kleomenes III.* (from 235) made himself the champion of reform, and with more success. He sought to pave the way for a military monarchy by victories abroad and then to thoroughly remodel the State. With clear insight he recognised that the Achaian League was an obstacle to his designs. The Aitolians delivered over to him the Arkadian cities which they had gained shortly before; the occasion for strife was thereby supplied, and in the war with the Achaians Kleomenes won some brilliant victories. After the battle of Leuktra (227) he proceeded, with the support of his army, to effect a revolution in Sparta; the Ephors were slain, their adherents driven away, the citizen-body increased by the admission of *Perioikoi*, and a new division of the land ordained. As a supplement to this social revolution the political and military organisations were remodelled; the Ephorship and the Gerusia were done away with and a new Council of *Patronomoi* established, the powers

of the kingly office were extended, the new citizen-body was armed after the manner of the Macedonian phalanx, and the 'Lykurgean' training was restored.

The reorganisation of Sparta did not fail to react upon public feeling within the Achaian League, the more so as its policy was guided by Aratos in accordance with the sentiments of the moneyed classes. Kleomenes continued his career of victory; he was able to demand of his adversaries that they should transfer to him the leadership of their League, and when this was refused he detached from them the most important cities, such as Corinth and Argos. The Achaian League was threatened with dissolution; Aratos saw his only salvation in foreign assistance, and in complete contradiction of his former efforts he passed a proposal that the Achaians should call upon *Antigonos Doson* for aid. The Macedonian king in return was given *Corinth* and the leadership of the Achaian League. At *Sellasia* Kleomenes was defeated by Antigonos (222). He fled away to Egypt, where a few years later he met with his death; in Sparta the former constitution was restored. The Achaian League recovered indeed the lost cities, but forfeited its independence; Antigonos united the States of Greece in an alliance of which the leadership was entrusted to the Macedonian king. Shortly after his return home Antigonos died; he was succeeded by his nephew *Philip V.* (221/0).

The *Aitolians* held aloof from this general league; soon after its establishment quarrels broke out between them and the Achaians, out of which arose the *Social War* (220-17), which was waged between the Aitolians on the one side and Philip and his allies on the other. In 217 a peace was concluded on the basis of the *status quo*. Aratos was removed by Philip in 213 by means of poison.

§ 47. The Embroilment with Rome and Subjugation of Greece

Sources.—Besides *Polybios* we have *Diodoros* in the fragments of his later books (XXVIII. and following). A substitute for the parts of

Polybios which survive only in fragments is furnished by the history of *Titus Livius*, who from Book XXXI. onwards certainly drew from Polybios and in the main has merely translated and recast him. In the biographies by *Plutarch* which here call for notice (those of Philopoimen, Flamininus, and Aemilius Paullus) much use is again made of Polybios, who also published a special work on Philopoimen.

Sicily until its Absorption by Rome.—The portion of the Greek world which first came into contact with Rome was naturally the West. In 272 *Tarentum* became Roman; and by the conquest of *Rhegion* in 271 the Romans advanced into the immediate neighbourhood of Sicily. In the discords at Syracuse after the retirement of Pyrrhos *Hieron* arose to power. An able and honourable man, he at first ruled the city in the quality of *Strategos*. He defeated the *Mamertini*, who had grown to a dangerous power, by the river *Longanos*; the capture of Messana was hindered only by the interference of Carthage. In return Hieron was raised by the Syracusans to the throne (269). The Mamertines soon grew discontented with their saviours, and in order to escape them and Syracuse they placed themselves under the protection of *Rome* (265). Thence arose the epoch-making struggle between Carthage and Rome. In the first Punic War the Sicilian Greeks were at first on the side of Carthage; but Hieron soon joined the Romans and thereby secured his dominion until his death. On the end of the war the whole of Sicily, with the exception of Hieron's kingdom, came into the hands of Rome and became its first Province (241), to which Syracuse was added after its conquest in 212.

The First and Second Macedonian Wars.—Ten years after the conclusion of the First Punic War the Romans gained a footing in Greece proper. On the occasion of their advance against the *Illyrians* they occupied *Korkyra* and *Epidamnos*, and thereby won control over the Adriatic Sea (229). The Greeks did not remain neutral during the Hannibalic War; whilst Macedon and the Achaians formed an alliance with Carthage, the Aitolians, Elis, Sparta, and Messene came over to the side of Rome. The war was

carried on between the two parties without notable results, and was terminated by a special peace. The Achaian League at this time possessed a talented general in *Philopoimen*, who reorganised its army and conquered and put to death the tyrant *Machanidas* of Sparta.

An occasion now offered itself for *Philip* of Macedon to interfere in the affairs of the East. Ptolemaios Philopator died in 205 and bequeathed his kingdom to a child, *Ptolemaios Epiphanes*. The king of *Macedon* and *Antiochos III.* of *Syria* judged the moment favourable to fall upon Egypt and divide it between them. This design was characteristic of Philip, who was guided by a spirit of unscrupulous and desperate Machiavellism. He conquered a number of maritime towns in the North-East of Asia Minor, and fell to quarrelling over them with *Rhodes*, which was at the head of a league of cities and was vitally concerned in maintaining freedom of trade, and with King *Attalos* of Pergamon; both of the latter Powers were on friendly terms with Rome. The number of his adversaries was swelled by Athens; and when he ravaged Attic territory a declaration of war came forth from Rome for this assault upon a friendly city. With this began the *Second Macedonian War* (200–197).

Philip found but few allies in Greece, namely *Boiotia* and *Akarnania*; the other States at the outset observed neutrality, but afterwards went over to Rome, the *Aitolians* first and the *Achaians* later. The Roman tactics were not in the beginning favoured with success; Philip undertook an assault upon Athens, and the Roman army, which had penetrated into Macedon, was compelled to fall back upon Apollonia on the Ionic Sea. The situation did not change until 198, when the consul *Titus Quinctius Flamininus* took over the chief command; he won Thessaly and Central Greece, and induced the Achaians to join him. The decisive battle took place in 197 at *Kynoskephalai* in Thessaly; the Aitolian cavalry had a share in bringing about this turn in favour of Rome. The peace that now ensued cost Macedon not only the final surrender of its suzerainty over Greece but also the

loss of its independence; it was forced to set free the Greeks in Europe and Asia, to pay a war indemnity, to deliver up its fleet, and to pledge itself not to raise its army above a certain strength and not to wage any war without the permission of Rome.

At the Isthmian Games of the year 196, amidst wild rejoicings, the Greek States heretofore dependent on Macedon were proclaimed by Flamininus to be free; one part of them joined the Aitolian League, the other the Achaians. In order to establish peace it was still necessary to chastise the tyrant *Nabis* of Sparta. Flamininus captured that city (195); but the independence of Sparta and the rule of Nabis still continued, save only that the coast-towns of Lakonia were separated from Sparta, under the title of *Eleutherolakones*, and added to the Achaian League.

The War of Rome with Antiochos of Syria.—This settlement of Greek affairs aroused much discontent. To say nothing of Nabis, the *Aitolians* felt themselves to be placed at a disadvantage, and strove to arouse a revolt of Greece against the Romans. Both rested their hopes upon *Antiochos* of *Syria*. The latter had gone on with the war against Egypt while Philip was combating the Romans, and after obtaining an advantageous peace he had set himself to win the western coast of Asia Minor; thence he purposed to cross over to Thrace. It was clear to him that he would meet with resistance from Rome, and he therefore endeavoured to form alliances on all sides, in which he was zealously supported by the Aitolians; Hannibal also found a home with him. Hostilities were opened with an assault by Nabis upon the Eleutherolakones (192). The Achaians however had the advantage; Nabis lost his life, and Sparta thereupon entered the Achaian League. Better fortune attended the *Aitolians*, who had meanwhile drawn up a formal declaration of war; they succeeded in capturing Demetrias.

Antiochos now sailed with his forces to Greece (autumn 192), and was elected *Strategos* of the Aitolian League; about the same time a Roman army landed at Apollonia,

The king captured *Chalkis* and occupied Thermopylai; but there rose against him a combination of the Greek States, in which the most important were the Achaians and Philip of Macedon. In the spring of 191 was fought a battle with the Romans; Antiochos was worsted at *Thermopylai* and thereon fled away to Asia, renouncing Greece for ever. The further war against Antiochos in Asia was decided by the battle of *Magnesia by Sipylos* (190); by the ensuing peace Syria was stripped of its navy and compelled to abandon all possessions beyond Mount Taurus. The Greek cities thus taken from him either became independent or were awarded to the kingdom of Pergamon. After the termination of the war the *Aitolians* were reduced (189); they henceforth played no part in history.

Although Macedon and Aitolia had been cut away from the States of Hellas, the Greek world thus left to itself proved too feeble to attain to any permanent organisation. The Achaians from 189 onward were in ceaseless discord with Sparta, which was struggling to withdraw from the League, and the Romans were repeatedly compelled to interfere; Philopoimen lost his life in a war against the Messenians (183). Rome had no security for the loyalty of Greece, especially as *Philip*, who deemed himself ill requited for his aid in the war against Antiochos, was making active preparations. He died however before he could put his designs into execution (179).

The War between Rome and Perseus.—He was succeeded by his bastard son *Perseus*, who carried on the designs of his father, but lacked his talents; one of his most marked qualities was greed. He endeavoured to form alliances on all sides. His schemes were revealed by King *Eumenes* of Pergamon to the Roman Senate, which thereupon resolved on war (171). When the Greeks saw them to be in earnest they all sided with the Romans; in the Achaian League the party with Roman sympathies had already for some time past been dominant. The Romans' management of the war was in the first years clumsy and unsuccessful.

But when *Lucius Aemilius Paullus* assumed the chief command (168) the tide speedily turned; he defeated Perseus at *Pydna*, and the king soon afterwards surrendered. The rule of the Antigonid dynasty and the kingdom of Macedon were now at an end; Macedon was split up into four leagues which had no legal relations with one another.

For Greece the victory of Paullus entailed evil consequences. The most distinguished members of the Macedonian party, among them about 1000 Achaians, were arrested and carried away as hostages to Italy, where they were kept in custody. Not until seventeen years had passed were the survivors allowed to return. *Rhodes* and *Eumenes*, for having attempted an unseasonable mediation between Perseus and Rome, were visited with a cruel humiliation. Perseus was presented at Rome in the triumph, and died a few years later in captivity.

The End of Greek Freedom.—Rome was impelled to take its final measures by a discreditable intrigue centring around the town of *Oropos*, which had been repeatedly plundered by the Athenians after 156. To escape responsibility for this the Achaian general *Diaios* plunged his League into hostilities with Sparta. The Achaians paid no heed to the fact that a little before this the Romans by the agency of Metellus had mercilessly crushed a revolt in *Macedon*, where had arisen a pretender to the name of *Philip*, and had made Macedon into a Province (148); and the recently returned Achaian exiles stimulated the hate felt for Rome. A Roman commission appeared at the meeting of the League in Corinth and declared it ordained by the Senate that the Achaians should release from the League not only Sparta but likewise Corinth, Argos, Herakleia in Trachis, and Orchomenos. The message was received by the meeting with uproar. A second embassy was rudely insulted at the meeting of the League, which decided for war (146). Boiotia and Chalkis allied themselves with the Achaians, the command over whom was taken by *Kritolaos* and *Diaios*. Metellus, who for the time was in command,

defeated them at *Skarpheia* in Lokris, where Kritolaos met with his death in an unknown manner. His place was taken by Diaios, who organised resistance to the last extreme and at the same time gave a socialistic character to the movement against Rome. Universal disorder arose in the Achaian States. Meanwhile the Roman army advanced as far as the Isthmos, and Metellus again made fruitless attempts to bring about a peaceful settlement. Soon afterwards the Consul *Lucius Mummius* took over the chief command and worsted the Achaians at *Leukopetra* on the Isthmos. Diaios fled away and took his own life; Corinth was given over to plunder, and at the order of the Senate was levelled with the ground.

With the year 146 the independence of Greece is at an end and the rule of Rome begins. All leagues were condemned to be broken up. Affairs were regulated by a Senatorial commission, to which was added the historian *Polybios*, who now rendered the greatest services to his fatherland. It is probable that from 146 B.C. onwards Greece and Macedon together made up one Roman province, *Achaia*; a part of the soil became the property of the Roman State and a tax was laid on the whole country. The treatment of Greece however was gentle. A number of cities remained free from taxation, and the other communities also retained for the most part their constitution and powers of jurisdiction; but democratic institutions were replaced by timocratic arrangements, and the power of the magistrates as opposed to the Council and Popular Assembly was increased.

APPENDIX

Greece from 146 B.C. until the Present Day

Greece in the Roman Age.—Of the countries inhabited by Greeks, the kingdom of *Pergamon* was first absorbed into the empire of Rome as the Province of *Asia* after its dynasty had died out (133). In the year 103 were formed the Provinces of *Cilicia* and *Pamphylia*. Greece proper enjoyed for sixty years a period of repose, which was not disturbed until the war of King *Mithradates* of Pontus against the Romans (from 88 B.C.); henceforth Greece was the scene of the decisive battles of the Roman State and Roman factions. The rising of Mithradates may be looked upon as a reaction of Hellenism against Rome; not only did Asia Minor revolt but Athens also allied itself with the king, who came to Greece in order to wage the war on its soil. He succumbed however to the military genius of *Sulla*, who captured *Athens* and defeated him at the battles of *Chaironeia* (86) and *Orchomenos* (85). Greece was thereby recovered, and soon Asia met with the same fate. The wars of *Pompeius* against the Pirates (from 67) and against Mithradates led to the incorporation of *Pontus* with *Bithynia* and the kingdom of *Syria*. The decisive blow in the strife between *Caesar* and *Pompeius* was likewise struck in the East, on the battlefield of *Pharsalos* in Thessaly, the Greeks again having sided with Pompeius (48). Similarly the murderers of Caesar, *Brutus* and *Cassius*, sought support in Greece and the Orient; they fell before the Triumvirs at *Philippoi* in Macedon (42). In the division between *Octavianus* and *Antonius* the latter received the East, and the Greeks were his partisans when war broke out between the pair. At *Actium* Octavianus gained the victory which secured for him the sole control of the empire (September, 31 B.C.). *Egypt* was likewise reduced; and thus, with the exception of a few client communities, all the Hellenistic States were absorbed in the empire of Rome.

The rule of Rome entailed a considerable advance for the Greek States, torn as they were by factionary conflicts; in Asia Minor

civic life prospered, and Greece enjoyed the constant care of the Emperors. *Augustus* made a change in administration by converting *Achaia* into an independent province, which comprised Peloponnesos and Central Greece and in the division of powers between the Princeps and the Senate was assigned to the latter. The classification into free and tax-paying communities was retained and the cities were allowed to keep their constitutions until some time in the third century A.D., when their place was taken by the Roman communal organisation; the free cities had a good position, preserving even their powers of high jurisdiction. Only two Roman colonies were established in Achaia—*Corinth*, restored by Caesar, and *Patrae*.

The panhellenic organisations were likewise revived by Augustus, and even before him permission was given to form leagues. The *Delphic Amphiktyonia* was reconstituted; beside this great combination appear a few smaller leagues such as those of the Aitolians, Achaians, Boiotians, and Phokians. The arrangement begun by Augustus lasted on with few changes until the reorganisation of the Empire by Diocletian and Constantine. Under *Tiberius* Achaia was for the time being put under the charge of the Emperor, and *Nero* gave back to the Greeks their freedom, a measure that was soon afterwards annulled by *Vespasian*. Of the Emperors *Hadrian* especially cherished a preference for Greece, which he repeatedly visited; he adorned Athens with magnificent buildings that entirely transfigured the city. Under *Antoninus Pius* and *Marcus Aurelius* the higher instruction in the schools of philosophy was put under the charge of the Emperors, who undertook to defray the cost.

The invasions of Northern races as the Empire grew feebler began with the raid of the *Costoboci* under Marcus Aurelius; the most important cities of Greece were assaulted and sacked by the *Goths*, especially in the age of Gallienus. Soon afterwards were accomplished those alterations in the organisation of the Empire which were of such profound importance to Greece—the foundation of *Constantinople*, the gradual rise and ultimate victory of *Christianity*, which met with a particularly energetic resistance from the University of Athens, which in the fourth century A.D. was at the zenith of its prosperity, and the final division of the Empire (365 A.D.), after which Greece was a portion of the East-Roman or Byzantine Empire. In the same year occurred the devastating march into Greece of *Alaric*, to whom the most important towns fell a prey.

Greece in the Middle Ages.—Despite revolutionary changes the spirit of antiquity and with it paganism maintained themselves most stubbornly. Christianity owed its final victory only to the pitiless vigour of *Justinian*, who suppressed the University of

Athens (529). In the same year Greece began to be deluged by foreign races, mostly *Slavs*, which has suggested in our times the interesting issue whether the Neohellenes of to-day are true descendants of the old Hellenes or of mainly Slavonic origin. It is now recognised that it is a mistake to assert that there has been any material alteration of Greek nationality by the Slavs.

Of greater importance was the *Romance* influence, which lasted on for centuries, beginning with the expeditions of the *Normans* in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In this the Republic of *Venice* had a leading share. The decisive event was the *Fourth* or *Latin Crusade* (1204) and the establishment of the Latin Empire of *Romania*. There arose on Greek soil 'Latin' (French and Italian) States, among which mention should be made of *Athens*, which also included Boiotia, and above all of the principality of *Achaia*. The Venetians also possessed themselves of a number of important places, such as Corfu, Crete, and Euboia, whilst in the Kyklades was formed the Italian Duchy of *Naxos*. These Latin States, which were built upon the feudal system of Western Europe, proved far more lasting creations than the Empire of Romania, which fell before Byzantion as early as 1261. Achaia in particular possessed vigorous rulers in the family of the *Villehardouins*. Part of the Morea however came again into the hands of the Byzantines. At the same time arose the *Knightly Orders*, notably that of *Saint John*, which took possession of the island of Rhodes.

This prosperous development was soon disturbed by the Neapolitan dynasty of *Anjou* usurping rule over Achaia. The peninsula was administered first by its viceroys and then by vassal princes. A still severer disturbance was brought about by the Spanish mercenary brigade of *Catalonians*, who had fought in the service of Byzantion against the Turks, moving into Greece and destroying the Latin chivalry in Boiotia (1311). The Catalonians conquered the Duchy of Athens and formed a soldier-state, their commandant carrying on the government; the protection of this State, which lasted until 1385, was undertaken by the kingdom of Sicily.

The house of Anjou had recently gained for itself Achaia, which had last been under the rule of the *Valois*; but it was unable to check the advance of the Byzantines in the Morea. At the same time the commercial republics of Venice and Genoa pursued their interests and new powers arose, the *Albanians* of the North and the *Osmanli* Turks, who were making ominous progress in Asia Minor and in 1354 took possession of the Hellespontos. The latter soon crossed over into Europe, where they turned first against the Slavonic States of the Balkan Peninsula, Bulgaria and Servia. In 1381 a new State of mercenary soldiers began to grow up in Greece, the *Navarrese* company conquering the Morea. Soon

after this the Duchy of Athens was seized upon by the Florentine family of *Acciajuoli*, which had also considerable estates in Peloponnesos.

About this time the *Osmanlis* began their raids against Greece. After they had conquered Macedon and Thessaly they were called upon for aid by the ceaselessly jarring potentates of Greece; in 1396 they gained a firm footing in Central Greece, and in 1397 they undertook a campaign into the Peloponnesos. The danger impending from them was now warded off by the invasion of the *Mongols*, who shattered the Osmanli Empire; but on the decay of Mongol power the Turkish empire was restored. The Sultan *Murad* (from 1421) continued the policy of conquest; the Byzantines however succeeded in destroying the Frankish power in the Morea (1430) and extending their supremacy over the whole peninsula. Twenty years later took place the fall of Constantinople and the annihilation of the Byzantine Empire by the Turks (1453). The subjugation of Greece was not long delayed. The Duchy of Athens, for years past vassal, was abolished in 1456, and the Peloponnesos reduced in 1460; in the same year the Parthenon at Athens was turned into a mosque. Last stage of all, the Osmanlis conquered Euboia, the possession of the Venetians (1470).

Greece under Turkish Rule.—Venice preserved a few possessions in Greece, which one by one were lost; it was the only adversary that dared to confront the Osmanlis there. On the Kyklades the Italian principalities lasted on until they were absorbed by Turkey in 1566; in 1669 Venice lost Crete. A reaction was brought about by the gradual decline of Osmanli power after the unsuccessful siege of Vienna (1683); in the war waged against the Turks by Venice the Akropolis of Athens was bombarded and the Parthenon partly destroyed (1687). By the Peace of Karlowitz (1699) the Venetian Republic regained the rule of the Peloponnesos and maintained it until 1715, when the Osmanlis won back the peninsula. In spite of Turkish rule Greek nationality was preserved intact, thanks to its communal organisation and its ecclesiastical constitution, the Patriarch of Constantinople having a plenary jurisdiction extending even to secular matters.

From the second half of the eighteenth century Russia inclined its sympathies to Greece. During the Russo-Turkish War the Morea revolted, supported by Russian troops (1770); the rising however was suppressed. The ideas of the French Revolution awakened in wide-spread sections of the population an impulse to throw off the yoke of the Osmanlis; to the same period belong the beginnings of Modern Greek literature and the new foundation of centres of Greek culture. These strivings found expression in

the establishment of a secret national league, the widespread *Hetairia* (from 1814).

The Liberation of Greece.—The first attempt at liberation was made by Prince *Alexander Ypsilanti*, the descendant of a distinguished Phanariote family and an officer in the Russian service, who raised the standard of rebellion in *Moldavia* (1821), on the news of which a revolt broke out in the *Morea*. Ypsilanti's rising was soon suppressed. The movement in the Peloponnesos went further; it was the beginning of the glorious and successful *War of Greek Independence*. Soon it was joined by the islands, before all *Spezzia* and *Hydra*, by Central Greece with Athens, and by Northern Greece. With the islands the insurgents gained an admirable fleet, the strength of which lay in the use made of fireships. The Turks responded to the rising by senseless massacres of the Greeks residing in Constantinople, which widened the breach past remedy and increased Europe's sympathy for the cause of the champions of freedom.

The early years of the War of Independence on the whole took a course favourable to the Greeks, whose ranks were reinforced by numbers of Philhellenes. A change first took place when the Sultan *Mahmud II.* secured the aid of the Viceroy of Egypt, who despatched an army under his son *Ibrahim* (early in 1825). Among the Greeks themselves quarrels broke out which grew into civil war; after this they encountered repeated defeats from the Egyptians. But some magnificent feats of arms, such as the heroic defence of *Missolonghi*, which was captured by the Turks in April 1826, prevented the sympathies of the West from cooling. In July 1827 a *Triple Alliance* was concluded at London between Russia, England, and France, to undertake mediation between the Porte and the insurgents. A combined fleet of the allied Powers sailed for Greek waters. Owing to an accident a battle took place between this and the Turkish fleet at *Navarino* (October 20, 1827), in which the naval power of Turkey was utterly destroyed. In the following spring broke out the *Russo-Turkish War*; but in spite of it the Egyptian troops remained in the Morea. A French army-corps was despatched to drive them out; on the arrival of this the Egyptians withdrew from the country (autumn 1828).

From the beginning of this year Count *Capodistrias*, who had formerly been in the Russian service, carried on the government with dictatorial powers. The last struggles against the Turks took place in September 1829; in the same month was concluded the *Peace of Adrianople* between Russia and Turkey, in which the Porte recognised the independence of Greece. A detailed arrangement of affairs was undertaken by the *London Conference* of the Allied Powers, the protocol of which is dated February 1830. By

this was determined the extent of the new State. It was restricted to the Peloponnesos, Central Greece, and part of the Kyklades; the northern frontier went from the Gulf of *Arta* to the Gulf of *Volo*. Important portions of the Greek world remained excluded, namely Thessaly, Epeiros, Crete, and the Ionian Islands; the last-named belonged until the French Revolution to Venice, then passed under French rule, and from 1815 formed a republic under the protectorate of England.

The crown of Greece was first offered to Prince *Leopold* of *Coburg*, who however declined it. In the meantime affairs became more and more disordered, and Capodistrias was murdered (February 1831). After his death bloody faction-fights took place, until at length the Allied Powers agreed upon Prince *Otho* of *Bavaria*, son of King Ludwig I., as the future King of Greece. The Greek National Assembly confirmed the choice (August 1832). The struggles of faction however did not therewith cease, but led to a condition of utter anarchy which only ended when King Otho, escorted by Bavarian troops, landed at Nauplia (February 1833).

As the king was not yet of full age the government was carried on for the time by a Regency composed of Bavarian higher officials; numbers of Germans were given appointments in the administration and educational system. Apart from the traces of centuries of Turkish rule and the wounds of the late war, the young State suffered sorely from the fact that the boundaries of the new kingdom had been drawn far too tightly for it to thrive in them, and it was financially overweighted from the outset by the loans raised during the war. For a long time the brigandage of the 'Klephthai' continued to be a standing trouble. Nevertheless its development has been one of ceaseless progress as regards both material welfare and intellectual culture. The University of Athens was founded in 1837. In December 1834 the capital was transferred to *Athens*, and in the following year King Otho took the government into his own hands. A turning-point is marked by the year 1843, in which as a result of the *September Revolution* all German officials were dismissed and a National Assembly met, which in concert with the king drew up a Constitution. The rule of Otho never became popular, especially as the hopes for the extension of the kingdom remained unfulfilled. In October 1862 a revolution broke out, in consequence of which he left the country.

The Danish Prince *Wilhelm* of *Glücksburg* was elected king in March 1863; he assumed the throne under the name of *George I.* and arrived in Greece in October. The country was given a new and entirely democratic constitution (1864); in the same year the long-desired *Ionian Islands* were resigned by Great Britain. During

the Russo-Turkish war Greece moved an army into Thessaly, but no battle of any importance was fought (1878). In consequence however of this campaign it attained a further increase of territory, the Porte being pledged at the *Berlin Conference* (1880) and the negotiations at *Constantinople* (1881) to surrender *Arta* in Epeiros and the larger part of *Thessaly*. One result of the unhappy war of 1897 was the rectification of this frontier in favour of Turkey.

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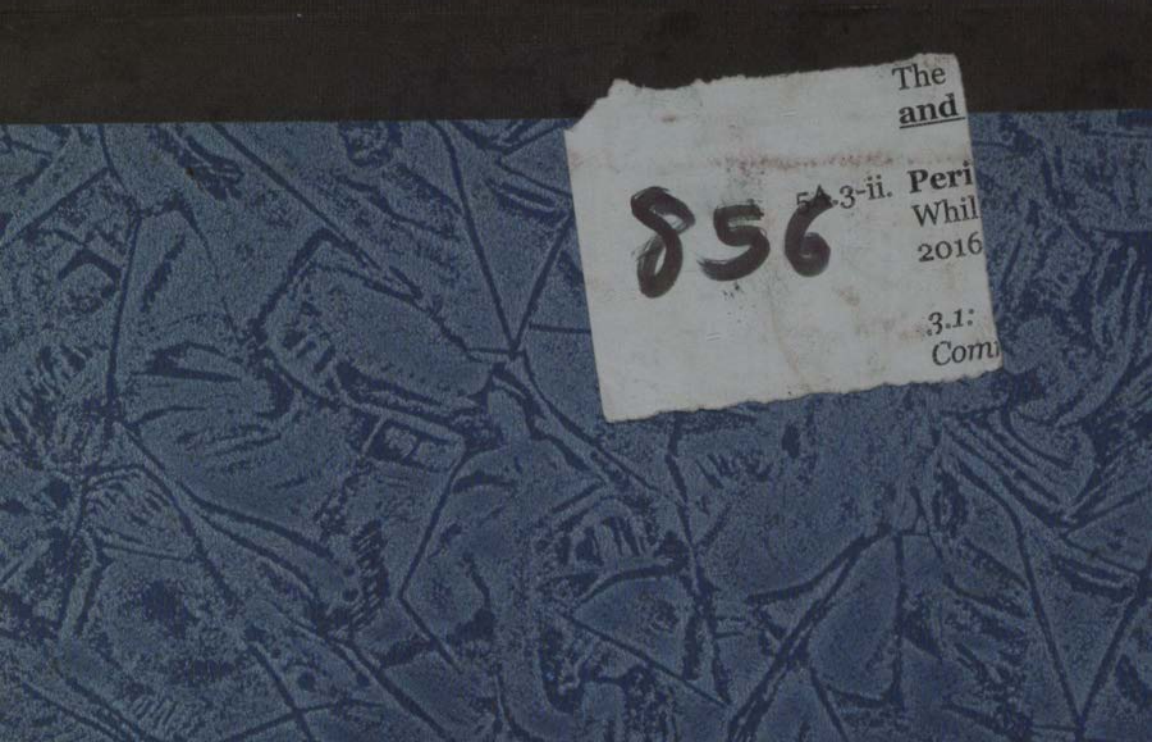
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